THE *SMALL WAR MANUAL* AND MARINE CORPS MILITARY
OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR DOCTRINE

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Military History

by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE *SMALL WAR MANUAL* AND MARINE CORPS MILITARY OPERATIONS
OTHER THAN WAR DOCTRINE, by Major Allen S. Ford, USMC, 116 pages.

On 28 March 2001, the United States Marine Corps Warfighting Labaratory's embedded
"think tank," the Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, announced its
intentions for developing a follow-on volume of the *Small Wars Manual.* This *Small
Wars Volume* II intends to serve as a reference publication despite that the original
manual was authoritative doctrine and that current Military Operations Other Than War
guidance is either in a "Concept in Development" or "Awaiting Development" status.
Thus this thesis answers: Does the *Small Wars Manual* series present a relevant baseline
for the United States Marine Corps (USMC) to further develop its future MOOTW
doctrine? The following supporting questions require examination: (1) Why did the
original *SWM* erode from serving as USMC MOOTW authoritative doctrine to that of
general reference and historical material? (2) What does the *SWM* offer Twenty-first
Century Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine? (3) What does the *SWM Volume II* intend to
offer Twenty-first Century Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine? The thesis concludes,
among other things, that indeed the *SWM* series deserves significant consideration for
serving as Navy and Marine Corps authoritative MOOTW doctrine with the *Small Wars
Manual* retaining its Marine Corps Reference Publication (MCRP) designation and its
follow-on volume serving as a Navy and Marine Corps authoritative doctrinal.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

CAP	Combined Action Platoon
CCO	Complex Contingency Operations
CETO	Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities
CJCS	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
COE	Contemporary Operating Environment
DoD	Department of Defense
DoS	Department of State
EFDS	Expeditionary Force Development System
EMW	Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare
FMFM	Fleet Marine Force Manual
4th MEB (AT)	4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (Anti-Terrorism)
HQMC	Headquarters Marine Corps
JFC	Joint Force Commander
JWC	Joint Warfighting Center
MAGTF	Marine Air Ground Task Force
MARCORSOCDET	Marine Corps Special Operations Command Detachment
MCCDC	Marine Corps Combat Development Command
MCDP	Marine Corps Doctrinal Publication
MCRP	Marine Corps Reference Publication
MCWL	Marine Corps Warfighting Labratory
MOOTW	Military Operations Other Than War
NA/COIN	National Assistance/Counterinsurgency

OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OEO	Other Expeditionary Operations
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
OOTW	Operations Other Than War
ROE	Rules of Engagement
SOCOM	Special Operations Command
SOF	Special Operations Forces
SWM	*Small Wars Manual*
TTP	Tactics, Techniques, Procedures
USGPO	United States Government Printing Office
USMC	United States Marine Corps
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On 28 March 2001, the Marine Corps Warfighting Lab and the Potomac Institute partnership "think tank," the CETO, announced their intention to conduct a contemporary examination of the *Small Wars Manual* (*SWM*) to produce a "practical educational guide . . . [that] seeks to complement Joint Publication 3-07 (JP 3-07), *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW* and Marine Corps Doctrinal Publication (MCDP) 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations* . . . [and] the new *Small Wars Manual* is not intended to be a doctrinal publication."[1] CETO crafted its statement carefully to ensure that it did not intend for its *SWM Volume II* to serve as Marine Corps service doctrine. This is in spite of the fact that the *SWM* enjoyed authoritative doctrinal stature following its 1940 publishing, and the Marine Corps Combat Development Command (MCCDC) has yet to develop either a future vision or completed its type operations doctrine with respect to the Marine Corps and MOOTW. Both MCCDC's Future Warfighting and Doctrine Divisions list their Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare's (EMW) Other Expeditionary Operations (OEO) as "Concepts in Development" and their Marine Corps Warfighting Publication, MCWP 3-33, *Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW)* as "Awaiting Development" respectively.[2] In short, CETO is in the process of updating the *SWM* with a limited endstate and absent Marine Corps of top down planning guidance.

This thesis addresses the question and answers: Does the *Small Wars Manual* series present a relevant baseline for the USMC to further develop its future MOOTW doctrine? The problem question requires answers to the following:

1. Why did the status of the original *SWM* erode from serving as USMC MOOTW authoritative doctrine to that of "general reference and historical material"?[3]

2. What does the *SWM* offer to Twenty-first Century Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine?

3. What does the *SWM Volume II* intend to offer Twenty-first Century Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine?

<u>Context of the Problem</u>

The *SWM* is a USMC "pre-World War II booklet that provide[s] guidelines for the conduct of Military Operations Other than War (MOOTW)." It has been celebrated as "an unparalleled exposition of the theory of small wars."[4] The *SWM* authors, veterans of the Caribbean and Central American "Banana Wars" (1901 to 1934), based their Manual upon "experiences in the early years of the twentieth century, and on a handbook that grew out of Britain's colonial experience."[5] The handbook referenced is Colonel Charles Calwell's *Small Wars*, a warfighting classic that captures British MOOTW experiences accumulated over an entire era of colonial expansion. In 1987, the USMC reprinted the *SWM*, claiming it to be ". . . one of the best books on military operations in peacekeeping and counterinsurgency operations published before World War II."[6] This claim is perhaps an understatement given the generic nature of currently available MOOTW doctrine. CETO's current *SWM Volume II* confronts the daunting task of modernizing Callwell's and the Banana War's doctrinal legacies.

Despite recent service in the Great War and with another global conflict looming on the horizon (World War II), the 1940 *SWM* authors declared that "Small Wars" represented "the normal and frequent operations of the Marine Corps." Similarly, at the

turn of the Twenty-first Century, despite the I Marine Expeditionary Force's sustained

operations ashore during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm (1990 to 1991) and

in Operations Iraqi Freedom (2003 to present), MCDP 3, *Expeditionary Operations*

(1998) reminds Marines that small-scale contingencies remain "the most likely and most

frequent crises into which the United States will find itself drawn."[7] Given this emphasis,

it is puzzling that Marines enter the Twenty-first Century without either an EMW OEO

supporting concept for the future or service-specific MOOTW doctrine. Even more

puzzling is CETO's intent for the *SWM Volume II's*, a doctrinal work of enduring value,

to serve as nothing more than a complementary reference publication and its development

without benefit of the normal Marine Corps Planning Process tenant of 'top down

planning guidance." This paradox provides impetus for an examination of the *SWM's*

history, its operational relevance, and the intended "value added" of *SWM Volume II* may

have for the Twenty-first Century Marine Air Ground Task Force (MAGTF) MOOTW

doctrine.[8]

Congruency prevails in at least one aspect of this topic--all pertinent *SWM* related

scholarship agrees that the *SWM* remains relevant and merits an updated version.

Endorsements range from the Council of Foreign Relation's Olin senior fellow, Max

Boot, whose recent *Savage Wars of Peace* (2002*)* dedicated two chapters to the manual's

insights, to Dr. Keith Bickel, whose published dissertation, *Mars Learning* (2001),

captured the Manual's unique "bottom-up development." In addition to this academic

commentary, numerous other theses, monographs, as well as current Marine Corps

doctrine have endorsed the Manual's relevance. Most notably, MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps*

Operations refers to the work as "seminal" and explicitly states the Manual remains ". . .

relevant to Marines today as they face complex and sensitive situations in a variety of operations."[9]

The Marine Corps relationship with CETO, an organization tailored to MOOTW study, is fortuitous. Dr. Bickel noted the challenges that the original *SWM* authors overcame in juggling the project with respect to time, resources, and institutional resistance during the inter-war years. Marine Corps School's Commandant Brigadier General James Breckenridge threatened to emulate Major General Russell's technique for producing the *Tentative Manual for Landing Operations* by threatening to suspend Small Wars curriculum in order to ensure that the *SWM* came to fruition.[10] These manpower and expertise challenges have remained constant across time. A cursory review of the MCCDC Doctrine Division "Points of Contact," reveals that the Marines retain only a limited stable of doctrine writers who fight an uphill battle to match relevance with the current changing operational environment.[11] CETO appears to be the right organization and at the right time for the *SWM Volume II* mission, but is their ultimate intent for one of the Marine Corps most celebrated doctrines to serve as reference appropriate?

<u>Assumptions</u>

This thesis assumes its completion prior to CETO publishing the *SWM Volume II* coordinating draft. Initially, CETO estimated completion of its coordinating draft by September 2001; however, MCWL reported that the *SWM Volume II's* progress was continuing as late as March 2003.[12] Thus, this Academic Year 2003-2004 thesis promises potential insight for CETO's ongoing coordinating draft.

<u>Definitions</u>

Academic discussion requires a common terminology so definitions are essential.
The MOOTW taxonomy itself varies with the United Nations, Department of State
(DoS), Department of Defense (DoD), and Non-Governmental Organizations.
Definitions proliferate throughout these respective communities and create confusion.[13]
Consequently, this thesis limits its operational terminology review to MOOTW, Peace
Operations, Complex Contingency Operations (CCO) and Small Wars. These are terms
directly related to the problem question. Content notes clarify references to benefit both
researchers and casual readers.

<u>Military Operations Other Than War</u>. The cumbersome term corrals at least
sixteen military operations under its umbrella. JP 3-07 succinctly defines this term as
that which:

> encompasses the use of military capabilities across the range of military
> operations short of war. These military actions can be applied to complement any
> combination of the other instruments of national power [diplomatic, information,
> economic] and occur before, during, and after war.[14]

Figure 1 provides a framework for comparing the sixteen different MOOTW-type
operations across the spectrum of conflict.

JP 3-07 describes MOOTW's underlying characteristics as being "sensitive to
political considerations;" as following "restrictive rules of engagement;" and as focusing
upon a "hierarchy of national objectives" that inherently creates complex military
problems. Thus MOOTW, albeit in many respects similar to combat, requires principles
distinct from those normally associated with conventional operations against a nation-
state's armed forces.[15] MOOTW arguably requires applying more military art than

5

RANGE OF MILITARY OPERATIONS

Military Operations	General US Goals	Representative Examples
COMBAT — War	Fight & Win	Large Scale Combat Operations Attack / Defend / Blockade
NONCOMBAT — Military Operations Other Than War	Deter War & Resolve Conflict	Peace Enforcement Counterterrorism Show of Force/Raid/Strike Peacekeeping/NEO Nation Assistance Counterinsurgency
	Promote Peace & Support US Civil Authorities	Freedom of Navigation Counterdrug Humanitarian Assistance Protection of Shipping US Civil Support

Figure 1. Range of Military Operations. Source: Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, Joint Publication 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other Than War* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 16 June 1995), I-2; available from http://www.dtic. mil/doctrine/jpoperationsseriespubs.htm; Internet; accessed on 28 December 2002.

science either for achieving a political objective or for changing a population's behavior.

Limited force or threat of its use requires finesse quite different from straightforward,

conventional "seize the objective" combat missions. Granted, controlling maneuver

forces and firepower remains a complex and difficult blend of military art and science;

however, the variables are usually more limited, when compared with manipulating

human behaviors that often conceal friendly or hostile intentions. MOOTW promotes

diplomatic, information, military, and economic "combined arms" to achieve often

ambiguous political end states. Finally, MOOTW mission success often resembles

6

shades of gray rather than the boldly contrasted black and white of victory or defeat.

Success or failure in MOOTW's case often reveals itself years later, unlike conventional

warfare more conflict ending outcomes.

Small Wars. Sixty-three years ago (1940) and sometimes currently, Marines have

described MOOTW as Small Wars and defined them as:

> operations undertaken under executive authority, wherein military force is
> combined with diplomatic pressure in the internal or external affairs of another
> state whose government is unstable, inadequate, or unsatisfactory for the
> preservation of life and of such interests as are determined by the foreign policy
> of our Nation.[16]

Despite a fifty-five year gap between the *SWM* and JP 3-07, *Joint Military*

Operations Other Than War (1995), the Small Wars and MOOTW definitions remain

similar with the following exceptions:

JP 3-07's MOOTW recognizes the strategic instruments of power (diplomatic,

information, military, economic) whereas the *SWM* acknowledged only the diplomatic

and military instruments.

JP 3-07's MOOTW remained ambiguous on where to apply military power

(domestic or foreign), whereas the *SWM* specifically limits Small Wars action to foreign

countries.

Thus, the similar pre-World War II Small Wars and the JP 3-07 definition permits

its use as generally interchangeable terms with the exceptions noted above. In fact this

thesis later make a case that Small Wars is more appropriate for the Marine Corps

vernacular. Furthermore, with remarkable prescience, *Expeditionary Operations* retains

the *SWM's* Small Wars sub-classifications that are used in this thesis.

7

Military Intervention--the deliberate act of a nation or group of nations to introduce its military forces into the course of an existing controversy to influence events.

Military Interposition--the deliberate act of a nation to introduce military forces into a foreign country during a crisis to protect its citizens from harm without otherwise becoming involved in the course of the crisis.[17]

A subordinate MOOTW mission, Peace Operations, embraces "a broad term that encompasses peacekeeping operations and peace enforcement operations conducted in support of diplomatic efforts to establish and maintain peace."[18] These operations, such as the Dayton Accords' Bosnian Implementation and Standing Forces and UN Resolution 1244's Kosovo Forces, reflect protracted MOOTW campaigns that normally do not call for MAGTF employment outside a forward deployed contingency response force. Marine Forces component commanders neither seek nor cherish protracted Peace Operations campaigns for their MAGTF given their "limited objective, limited duration" expeditionary nature and mentality. MAGTF participation in UN Peacekeeping Forces during the Beirut Peace Operations (1982 to 1984) and Operations Restore Hope (1991 to 1992) stand as lone examples of the Marine Corps participation protracted peace operations other than the unilateral Banana Wars (1901 to 1934).

Although the Marine Corps does not normally deploy MAGTFs in support of a protracted Peace Operations campaign, it does support joint force commanders with staff augmentation and forces to fulfill specific functional requirements. Nevertheless, participation in protracted peace operations may be difficult for the Marine Corps to avoid in the near future. As the USMC's thirty-third Commandant, General Michael

Hagee, noted with respect to Marines currently participating in Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF):

> What I would suggest is that we are there for a shorter period of time. In my opinion, we need to back load, we need to reconstitute our maritime preposition force and we need to recock the Marine Corps to ensure that it is prepared to go anywhere else that it needs to go. We are an expeditionary force. Our job is not there in southern Iraq when it is all over. Having said that, we've done that before. We'll just have to see how it pans out.[19]

Recent MOOTW missions, such as Operation Restore Hope (Somalia) and Provide Comfort (Northern Iraq and Kurdistan), evolved into what the humanitarian assistance and disaster relief community consider complex humanitarian emergencies or complex humanitarian operations. In fact, the *JTF Handbook for Peace Operations*, an outstanding non-doctrinal publication, claims that, "the majority of future peace operations will be part of complex contingencies."[20] These terms, not specifically recognized by DoD, resemble what JP 1-02 defines as CCO. They are:

> Large-scale peace operations (or elements thereof) conducted by a combination of military forces and nonmilitary organizations that combine one or more of the elements of peace operations which include one or more elements of other types of operations such as foreign humanitarian assistance, nation assistance, support to insurgency, or support to counterinsurgency.[21]

The key term complex reflects the reality, regardless of whether the environment is permissive or hostile, that executing CCO requires balancing both security and humanitarian assistance capabilities for success. In short, a protracted CCO could represent the most operationally challenging MOOTW scenario that a MAGTF may be called upon to perform--the humanitarian aspect being one of the few circumstantial differences between the CCO and the Banana War Marine's counterinsurgency

operations. CCOs best reflect a Marine Corps warfighting doctrine that addresses what

the USMC's thirty-first Commandant, General C. C. Krulak, termed as "3-Block War":

> One moment they will be feeding refugees and providing other humanitarian
> relief. A few hours later conducting peace keeping operations, Marines will be
> separating fighting warlords and their followers. . . . Later that day, they may well
> be engaged in mid-intensity, highly lethal conflict--and this will take place within
> three city blocks.[22]

Executing a CCO requires full-spectrum military capabilities which the Marine

Corps claims as their niche, but qualify their expeditionary capability with a limitation

that they are best deployed as "an immediate response while serving as the foundation for

follow-on forces or resources." Marines normally respond to a CCO either with their

contingency response or forward deployed Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special

Operations Capable), with their larger "middle weight" crisis response force, the Marine

Expeditionary Brigade, or with their tailored Special Purpose MAGTF.

Limitations

The United States Army Command and General Staff College Master of Military

Art and Science program constrains the thesis' scope given the following: Fort

Leavenworth's location and course requirements for the Command and General Staff

College Officer Course preclude visits to archives and other research centers located

within the Washington, DC metropolitan area. Thus, this thesis rests on sources available

through Command and General Staff College, the Combined Arms Research Library, and

on-line, retrievable documentation. Furthermore, time is a significant limitation given

that the program requires completion during the academic year.

<center>Delimitations</center>

This thesis scope limits itself to identifying the 1940 *SWM* relevance for today's contemporary operating environment (COE).[23]   However, the thesis scope implies the following:

1. Given the United States Army and United States Special Operations Command's (SOCOM) role in protracted MOOTW campaigns, a consideration of *SWM* from their perspective.

2. Given the importance of MOOTW to a broader community, a consideration of the *SWM's* specific impact in professional military education schools, civilian peacekeeping institutes, and International organization's MOOTW training and education curriculum.

3. Given the *SWM's* general relevance, an application of its operational principles and tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP) to a Twenty-first Century MOOTW campaign such as Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) (Afghanistan), or OIF (Post-Conflict phase) similar to other *SWM* monographs and theses addressing counter drug operations, Haiti, and Somalia.[24]

4. Given common denominators suggested by the *SWM*, a comparison of Lieutenant General Victor's Krulak's Vietnam War era "spreading inkblot strategy" versus French Colonial General Joseph Gallieni's "progressive occupation" seventy-five years earlier in what was then considered "Tonkin."

<center>Significance of the Study</center>

As *Expeditionary Operations* points out, the nature of the post-Cold War and 9/11 world suggests that small-scale contingencies are likely to figure prominently in the

<center>11</center>

mission requirements for the MAGTF. Additionally, the COE reflects that these contingencies appear to require protracted campaign requirements versus a limited time period in which the Marine Corps are most familiar. Smaller-scale operations in the Philippines, Columbia, Afghanistan, and Horn-of-Africa while simultaneously liberating Iraq and defending the Republic of South Korea prove this point.

Whether these contingencies are tabbed Small Wars or MOOTW, their nature presents complexities and peculiarities that rival--and perhaps exceed--the demands of more conventional operations. The challenge is such that all available wisdom should be brought to bear in preparation for engagement in operations that appear less than conventional. If appropriate, this wisdom should include "best thought" and "best practices" from the past. The requirement is to discern what has changed and what remains universal for contemporary application. The intent is to determine the value and relevance of the small wars legacy for today's world.

CETO *SWM Volume II's* timing cannot be overlooked given its content potentially reflects valuable TTP relevant to the ongoing protracted campaigns. The aforementioned small scale contingencies have prompted the Marine Corps to not only form new commands and lead Joint Task Forces, but also return to protracted MOOTW campaigns. Since 11 September, the Marines established both the Marine Corps Special Operations Command Detachment (MARCORSOCDET) and 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (Anti-Terrorism) (4th MEB (AT)); lead both the Commander Joint Task Force Horn of Africa and Military Coordination and Liaison Command (Northern Iraq) missions; and currently responsible for OIF post-conflict duties in southern Iraq.[25] Given General Hagee's OIF perspective, the COE may require Marines to return to the

protracted Banana Wars-type operations that the United States SOCOM and United States Army normally fulfill, thus potentially making the *SWM Volume II* more valuable to Marine Corps operating forces.

<u>Research Methodology and Thesis Organization</u>

The primary research question, Does the *SWM* series present a relevant baseline for the USMC to further develop its future MOOTW doctrine? serves as this study's focus and point of departure. In order to prove or disprove the continuing validity of the *SMW*, it is necessary to understand the situation that spawned it, together with the circumstances that seemingly altered its relevance. If these circumstances suggest that concerns other than direct *SMW* pertinence eroded its fundamental value, then an examination of these circumstances warrants investigation within the larger study. If, at the same time, there are aspects of *SWM* that appear timeless, these aspects must be identified and emphasized. At the heart of this task is the assumption that military engagement in small wars generally conforms to certain underlying principles, just as engagement in "large wars" generally conforms to what United States commentators call "the principles of war."

Determination of enduring or "universal" relevance rests on a comparison of operating environments. If these environments are similar, then so will be the associated operational challenges. To be sure, the means used to address these challenges have changed appreciably since 1940, but many of the questions should remain the same. For example, one of the salient features of modern OOTW is the way that political considerations permeate virtually all activities in pursuit of mission accomplishment. In contrast, political considerations associated with conventional operations normally

13

assume overriding significance only for the higher-ranking political-military leadership. This distinction and others should be evident in an examination of operating environments.

Determination of enduring relevance also rests on a comparison of the *SWM* with contemporary Joint Force and emerging Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine. Neither of these conceptual constructs builds on empty ground. If, in fact, both contemporary doctrine and *SMW* are based on common distilled experience and sound theory, a general examination of both should reveal a high degree of congruity.

Finally, this investigation does not occur in an intellectual vacuum. The very fact that CETO is presently engaged in production of a *SWM Volume II* is indicative that other personnel and organizations perceive an affinity between present preoccupations with MOOTW and the intellectual legacy of the original *SWM*. Just as in the case of the above comparisons, the CETO's effort promises to reveal a high degree of congruity between past and present small-war-like concerns. This study builds in part on an analysis of the CETO's effort and what that effort demonstrates with respect to the enduring relevance of *SWM*.

In accordance with these and related considerations, this thesis builds its organizational framework around answers to the three supporting questions that examine the S*WM's* journey and assess its current relevance. Additional insight flows from an assessment of *SWM Volume II's* potential impact. Chapter 2, "The Operational History of the Small Wars Manual," attempts to answer the question, Why did the *SWM's* status erode from authoritative Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine to that of general reference and history? This chapter traces the manual's relevance with respect to national security and

Marine Corps institutional strategies since 1940. In addition to surveying the *SWM's* administrative and operational history, this chapter describes the evolving role of Special Operations Forces (SOF) in the conduct of MOOTW. Background comes from Callwell's *Small Wars* for a general understanding of *SWM's* intellectual baseline and from Dr. Keith Bickel's published dissertation, *Mars Learning*. Dr. Bickel's work, together with Moskin's *The Marine Corps History*, Boot's *Savage Wars of Peace*, and Peterson's *Combined Action Platoons*, afford perspective on Marine Corps institutional context and doctrinal development. Other pertinent materials come from selected theses and monographs.

Chapter 3, "The *Small War Manual;* Twenty-first Century Relevance Check," addresses the supporting question, What does the *SWM* offer to Twenty-first Century Marine Corps MOOTW Doctrine? As point of departure, *Marine Corps Operations* claims that *SWM* continues to be relevant to Marines today as they face complex and sensitive situations in a variety of operations. This chapter seeks to identify what characteristics and content remain specifically relevant. The examination extends to *SWM's* framework (title, organization, style, and focus) and continues further to compare *SWM's* content with that of JP 3-07's.

The fourth chapter answers the question; what does the *SWM Volume II* intend to offer Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine? Although a coordinating draft has not yet been distributed, the intentions governing the effort are a matter of public record. They can be subjected to examination for congruency with the original *SWM's* intent, with *Marine Corps Operations*, with current doctrine, and with the COE.

15

The conclusion chapter provides the results of analysis, with specific answers to

the research question and subsidiary questions. This chapter also provides

recommendations with respect to the *SWM* series and evolving Marine Corps doctrine.

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[1]Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, "Current Projects" (Quantico, VA: Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities Official Home Page; web page on-line; available from http://www.ceto.quantico.usmc.mil/projects.asp; Internet; accessed on 28 December 2002).

Department of the Navy, *Small Wars Manual* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1940; reprint, 1 April 1987).

Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, "Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities to Re-Write Marine Corps Small Wars Manual" (Quantico, VA: Center of Emerging Threats and Opportunities, Official Home Page, 28 March 2001; CETO Media Advisory on-line; available from http://www.ceto.quantico.usmc.mil/ releases/032801.asp; Internet; accessed on 28 December 2002).

CETO also announces its intentions to update the *Small Wars Manual* in the Marine Corps Association, "Updating the Small Wars Manual,"*Marine Corps Gazette*, June 2001, 6.

"CETO was established at the direction of the Senate Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities . . . to solve the problems of lessons learned from non-traditional military operations conducted since the end of the Cold War." Marine Corps Association, "Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities Established," *Marine Corps Gazette*, February 2001, 6.

JP 3-07 is authoritative doctrine that governs the activities and performance of the Armed Forces of the United States in joint operations (US Army, US Navy, US Air Force, US Marine Corps, US Coast Guard, and others) with respect to MOOTW. Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, Joint Publication 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other Than War* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 16 June 1995); available from http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jpoperationsseriespubs.htm; Internet; accessed on 28 December 2002.

General J. L. Jones, 32nd Commandant of the Marine Corps, states in his forward to MCDP 1-0 that the publication "is the transition-the-bridge-between the Marine Corps' warfighting philosophy of maneuver warfare to the TTP [tactics, techniques, procedures] used by Marines. . . . It addresses how the Marine Corps conducts operations to support the national military strategy across the broad range of naval, joint, and multinational

operations." Department of the Navy, MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations*
(Washington, DC: USGPO, 27 September 2001); available from https://www.doctrine.
quantico.usmc.mil/mcdp/html/mcdp10.htm; Internet; accessed on 28 December 2002.

[2]Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare is the Marine Corps new Capstone Concept
and Other Expeditionary Operations is one of its supporting concepts. United States
Marine Corps, "Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare" (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps
Combat Development Command's Doctrine Division, Official Home Page, 10 November
2001; abstract on-line; available from https://www.doctrine.quantico.usmc.mil/emw.htm;
Internet; accessed on 16 May 2003).

United States Marine Corps, "United States Marine Corps Warfighting Concepts"
(Quantico VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command Warfighting Futures
Warfighting Division, Official Home Page; web page on-line; available from
http://www.concepts.quantico.usmc.mil/products.htm; Internet; accessed on 16 May
2003).

United States Marine Corps, MCWP 3-33, *Military Operations Other Than War*
(Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command Doctrine Division
Official Homepage; web page on-line; available from https://www.doctrine.quantico.
usmc.mil/mcwp/htm/doc7.htm; Internet; accessed on 3 December 2002).

[3]"MCRPs [Marine Corps Reference Publications] contain general reference and
historical materials. MCRPs contain more specific/details TTP [tactics, techniques,
procedures] than the MCWPs [Marine Corps Warfighting Publication]. MCRPs
supersede FMFRPs [Fleet Marine Force Reference Publications] and OHs [Operational
Handbooks]." United States Marine Corps, Marine Corps Combat Development
Command Doctrine Division Official Homepage; available on line from https://www.
doctrine.quantico.usmc.mil/htm/doc3.htm; Internet; last accessed on 30 March 2003.

[4]Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, CETO Media Advisory.

Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 284.

[5]Keith Bickel, Ph.D., *Mars Learning* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 213-214.
Dr. Bickel notes Major Harold Utley, Major Merit Edson and General Victor Bleasdale--
all Banana War veterans--as either Marine Corps School's instructors or members of
Brigadier General Breckenridge's chartered board responsible for developing the *Small
Wars* Manual.

Dr. Johnson notes, "A veteran of the Second Nicaraguan Campaign, General
McGee helped author his service's *Small Wars Manual,* perhaps the finest doctrine ever
written regarding counterrevolutionary warfare." Wray R. Johnson, Ph.D., "Airpower
and Restraint in Small Wars: Marine Corps Aviation in the Second Nicaraguan

Campaign, 1927-1933," *Aerospace Power Journal* (fall 2001); available from http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj01/fal01/johnson.html; Internet; accessed on 16 May 2003.

Boot, 283.

[6]Department of the Navy, *Small Wars Manual*, Foreword.

[7]Department of the Navy, MCDP 3, *Expeditionary Operations* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 16 April 1998), 11.

[8]"MAGTF \'mag-taff\n [derived from a longstanding naval expeditionary tradition and state of mind]; Marine Air-Ground Task Force. 1: a combination of four military arms--command, ground, air and support--whose whole is exponentially stronger than its parts. 2: a self-contained and self-sustained combined arms striking force, capable of operating from land or on a mobile and protected sea base. 3: a scalable, modular building-block organization that ensures the most appropriate and cost-effective capabilities are applied to the task at hand. 4: a enabler for Joint Task Force operations. 5: a rheostat of equally expandable or retractable crisis response options that can be tailored to meet any crisis. 6: a unique form of naval expeditionary operations practiced by the United States." United States Marine Corps, "Send in the Marines . . . the Art of MAGTF Operations" (Washington, DC: United States Marine Corps Official Home Page, 1996; available on line from http://www.usmc.mil/download/send.nsf/page1; Internet; last accessed on 15 April 2003).

[9]V. T. Marsh, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC, "Small Wars Manual: Prologue to Current Operations" (Final report, Naval War College, 19 June 1992).

William W. Go, Major, USMC, "The Marine Corps' Combined Action Program and Modern Peace Operations-Common Themes and Lessons" (Monograph, Marine Corps University Command and Staff College, 1997).

Richard C. McMonagle, Major, USMC, "The Small Wars Manual and Military Operations Other Than War" (Thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, 1996).

Joseph L. Osterman, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC, "Then and Now: A Strategic Primer for Post-Conflict Activities" (Strategy Research Project, US Army War College, 2000).

Michael C. Lopez, Major, USA, "The IBCT Search for Relevance in Stability and Support Operations" (Monograph, US Army Command and General Staff College, School of Advanced Military Studies, 2 January 2001).

Department of the Navy, *Marine Corps Operations*, 10-2.

[10]Bickel, 214.

[11]United States Marine Corps, "Doctrine Division's Personnel Roster and Phone List" (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command's Doctrine Division, Official Homepage; available from https://www.doctrine.quantico.usmc. mil/roster.htm; Internet; accessed on 16 May 2003).

[12]Marine Corps Association, "Updating the Small Wars Manual," *Marine Corps Gazette,* June 2001, 6.

Marine Corps Warfighting Lab, "MCWL Quarterly Update Brief" (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command, Official Homepage, 6 March 2003; available from https://www.mccdc.usmc.mil/Command_Briefs/cmdbrief.htm; Internet; accessed on 15 April 2003).

[13]This essay provides an example of the numerous taxonomy debates with respect to crisis response actions. Even the UN's UNICEF and OAHCA maintain different definitions of complex emergencies. Jose Miguel Albala-Bertrand, "What is a "Complex Humanitarian Emergency"? An Analytical Essay," Working Paper No. 420, October 2000, Queen Mary, University of London, Department of Economics; available from http://ideas.repec.org/p/qmw/qmwecw/wp420.html; Internet; last accessed on 16 April 2003.

[14]Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW*, I-1

[15]Ibid., vii.

[16]The Marine Reading Program designated a section in its Professional Reading List titled "Small Wars" which reflects a number of books dealing with counterinsurgency and terrorism. United States Marine Corps, "US Marine Reading Program," ALMAR 026/00; available on line from http://www.mcu.usmc.mil/mcu/ Reading/CompleteListBySubject.Htm; Internet; last accessed on 15 April 2003.

Warfighting, the Marine Corps' capstone publication, utilizes the term "Small Wars" interchangeably: "Military operations other than war and small wars are more probable than a major regional conflict or general war." Department of the Navy, *Warfighting* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 27 June 1997), 27.

Department of the Navy, *Small Wars Manual*, 1-1.

[17]Department of the Navy, *Expeditionary Operations,* 30.

Department of the Navy, *Small Wars Manual*, 1-14(a), 1-20(b), and 1-15(j).

[18]Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 12 April 2001), 323.

[19]Malina Brown, "Hagee: Marine Corps 'Taking Risks' in Areas other than Iraq, N.Korea," *Inside the Navy*, 7 April 2003, 1.

[20]Joint Warfighting Center, *Joint Task Force Commander's Handbook for Peace Operations* (Fort Monroe, VA: USGPO, 16 June 1992); ii; available from www.cdmha. org/toolkit/cdmha-rltk/PUBLICATIONS/JTF-CC-Hb.pdf; Internet; last accessed on 16 May 2003.

[21]International and Non-Governmental Organizations such as the UN, Agency for International Development and United States Pacific Command's Center of Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance normally utilize the term Complex Humanitarian Disasters or Complex Emergencies; a non-DoD recognized term, versus CCO. Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington, DC: USGPO) 87.

[22]C. C. Krulak, General, USMC, "Sustaining the Transformation," White Letter No 3-98, 26 June 1998; available on line from htp://www.usmc.mil/cmcalmars.nsf; Internet; last accessed on 16 May 2003.

[23] The contemporary operational environment (COE) is the overall operational environment that exists today and in the near future (out to the year 2020). The range of threats during this period extends from smaller, lower-technology opponents using more adaptive, asymmetric methods to larger, modernized forces able to engage deployed U.S. forces in more conventional, symmetrical ways. In some possible conflicts (or in multiple, concurrent conflicts), a combination of these types of threats could be especially problematic. United States Army, *The Contemporary Operating Environment Handbook 03-3* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Center for Army Lessons Learned, 9 May 2003, chapter 1; available from http://call.army.mil/Products/Ctc/COE-handbook/coe-ch1.htm; Internet; last accessed on 1 June 2003).

[24]Major William W. Go, USMC, "The Marine Corps' Combined Action Program and Modern Peace Operations--Common Themes and Lessons" (Monograph, Marine Corps University Command and Staff College, 1997).

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Lieutenant Colonel Joseph L. Osterman, USMC, "Then and Now: A Strategic Primer for Post-Conflict Activities (Strategy Research Project, US Army War College, 2000).

[25]United States Marine Corps, "SOCOM-USMC: Way Ahead Brief" Headquarters Marine Corps Plans, Policies and Operations (Expeditionary Policies Branch POE-30: Marine Air-Ground Task Force/Special Operations Section), Washington, DC, circa Fall 2002.

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Christian Lowe, "Marine Corps to Activate Special Operations Force," *Marine Corps Times*, 17 December 2002.

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CHAPTER 2

THE OPERATIONAL HISTORY OF THE *SMALL WARS MANUAL*

Why did the *SWM* suffer erosion in status from USMC MOOTW authoritative

doctrine to that of general reference and historical material? Perhaps more appropriately:

How did the *SWM*, the Marine's original MOOTW doctrine, a volume that is still

available, studied widely, applied operationally, and sold commercially vanish at the

outset of World War II and reappear forty-seven years later with perhaps more relevance

to the COE than in 1940? A discussion of *SWM's* contemporary relevance begins with

the *SWM's* origin and development in light of various MOOTW conflicts, changes in

national security strategies, shifting Marine Corps focus, and joint force evolution.

The Banana Wars

Early Twentieth Century Marines (1901 to 1934), often referred to as State

Department Troops for their role in United States Caribbean interventions, executed a

number of majority MOOTW-style operations in the Caribbean and Central America (see

Appendix).[1] Marines consistently executed MOOTW-style campaigns "with fuzzy

objectives--not to annihilate a hostile army but 'to establish and maintain law and order

by supporting or replacing the civil government in countries or areas in which the

interests of the United States [had] been placed in jeopardy.'"[2] Eventually, the Marines

became the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson's (1911 to 1913), force-of-choice to support

the State Departments so-called "Dollar Diplomacy." Marines achieved the ascendancy

because "dispatching the army would be tantamount to a declaration of war, whereas the

Marines, with their long history of landing abroad, could be sent with few international

repercussions."[3] As a result "no longer would United States sailors and Marines land for

a few days at a time to quell a riot; now they would stay longer to manage the internal politics of the nation."[4] Eventually World War I drew United States attention to Europe, leaving Marines and State Department officials in the Central American and Caribbean Banana Republics to achieve the Small Wars' complex political objectives. These actions evolved into what were referred to as Banana Wars, in which Marines executed protracted counterinsurgency campaigns against insurgent guerilla forces, while simultaneously addressing civil administration duties. These activities were uncommon to both early and late Twentieth Century Marines, given the formers' sea and barracks duty roles and the latter's self-proclaimed limited objective, limited duration emphasis on interventions.

However, in 1922 the Marine Corps announced its intention to downplay former sea and barracks duty in favor of providing Fleet commanders a forcible entry capability for seizing Advance Naval Bases. This role marked a radical departure from the Corps' Banana War's constabulary operations and Great War service alongside the United States Army in linear conventional land warfare. The thirteenth Commandant of the Marine Corps, General John A. Lejeune (1920 to 1929), intended that his Marines "supply a mobile force to accompany the Fleet for operations on shore, when the active naval operations reach such a stage as to permit its temporary detachment from the Navy."[5]

The Banana War Marines, confident that Small Wars provided the Corps a distinguishing niche and perhaps uncomfortable with the Advance Naval Base concept, took umbrage with Lejeune's initiative, which initiated a long-standing ". . . simmering tension between two cultures--the small wars specialists and the Advanced Base adherents."[6] Dr. Bickel notes that years later Major General John H. Russell, sixteenth

Commandant of the Marine Corps (1934 to 1936) and the overseer of amphibious

warfare doctrine overseer, perpetuated General Lejeune's Advance Naval Base agenda

when he wrote that "expeditionary forces in 'small wars' were not in the Corps' nor the

nation's interests." Later in his post-World War II memoirs, Russell specifically stated,

"Marines should not be used for the suppression of revolutions in small countries." Not

surprisingly, pre-World War II Commandants passively suppressed the Small Wars

arguments that later resurfaced in the mid-1970s, during the "Haynes Board" roles and

mission review.[7]

   Competition among respective advocates produced a healthy dialogue and

differences persisted. Neither camp rested during the inter-war years. Advocates from

both camps pursued their respective doctrinal agendas while the Marine Corps' role

evolved from sea and barracks duties to projecting combat power ashore in support of

maritime campaigns. The institutionally-backed Advance Naval Base advocates won the

doctrine contest with their *Tentative Manual for Landing Operations* (Bible of

Amphibious Warfare).[8] The Banana War Marines quickly followed with the *SWM*.

During this time the Marine Corps enjoyed a prolific period of doctrinal flowering with

respect to "type operations" (for example amphibious operations, riverine operations,

Small Wars, and others). This period was perhaps matched only by the efforts of recent

(1989 to 1998) Commandants A. M. Gray and C. C. Krulak to advance Marine Corps

operational thought. They moved the Marine Corps from a focus on type operations to

one of conceptual warfighting theory. For Gray and Krulak overarching principles

guided and informed doctrine and TTP.

The *Small Wars Manual* and World War II

The scale and scope of Marine Corps operations in World War II overcame the

small war specialist attempts to further their agenda. Dr. Bickel has observed that just

when the final published *SWM* emerged in 1940, "it became the most irrelevant because

of the onset of World War II."[9] Marines embraced World War II's opportunities for

amphibious warfare opportunities. These proved the validity of the *Tentative Manual for*

Landing Operations during the Pacific Theater of Operation's "island-hopping

campaigns," while United States Army forces simultaneously validated the doctrine

within the European Theater of Operations. Despite the numerous MOOTW-type

operations that also occurred during the high-intensity conventional warfare of World

War II, the *SWM's* legacy faded. Author Max Boot laments that:

> The final edition of the *Small Wars Manual* was published at the most
> inopportune of times, 1940. It seemed to have little application to WW II, though
> what is often forgotten is that along with the clash of big armies the 1939-1945
> conflict saw plenty of guerilla operations by forces as disparate as the Yugoslav
> partisans and the French *maquis*--not to mention America's own Office of
> Strategic Services (OSS), forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).[10]

Fortunately, both amphibious and Small Wars doctrines survived World War II

within the next decade. The 82nd Congress (1952) legislated the Marine Corps strategic

concept and tasked it with responsibility for: "*A balanced force for a Naval Campaign*

and a ground and air striking force [as well as provide a necessary force]. . . . *Ready to*

suppress or contain international disturbances short of war."[11] Ultimately, both the

Advance Naval Bases and Banana Wars advocates' respective inter-war years' doctrines

required by combat operations and legislated by Congress. However, only the *Tentative*

Manual for Landing Operations survived further evolution into what is now titled JP 3-

02, *Joint Doctrine for Amphibious Operations.*[12] In contrast the *SWM,* remains the same *SWM* as written in 1940. Despite the *SWM* 1990's renaissance, its doctrinal contribution both historically and operationally remains muted. Both MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations,* and Headquarters Marine Corps' *Concepts and Programs 2002* (The Marine Corps Congressional Budget Manual) passively snub the *SWM* as inter-war years and "Continuous Transformation" examples (see figure 2).[13] Operationally, the Marine's new EMW capstone concept recognizes OEO as one of its supporting concepts; however, the Department of Navy's "Naval Transformation Roadmap" fails to acknowledge OEO as an EMW supporting concept.[14]
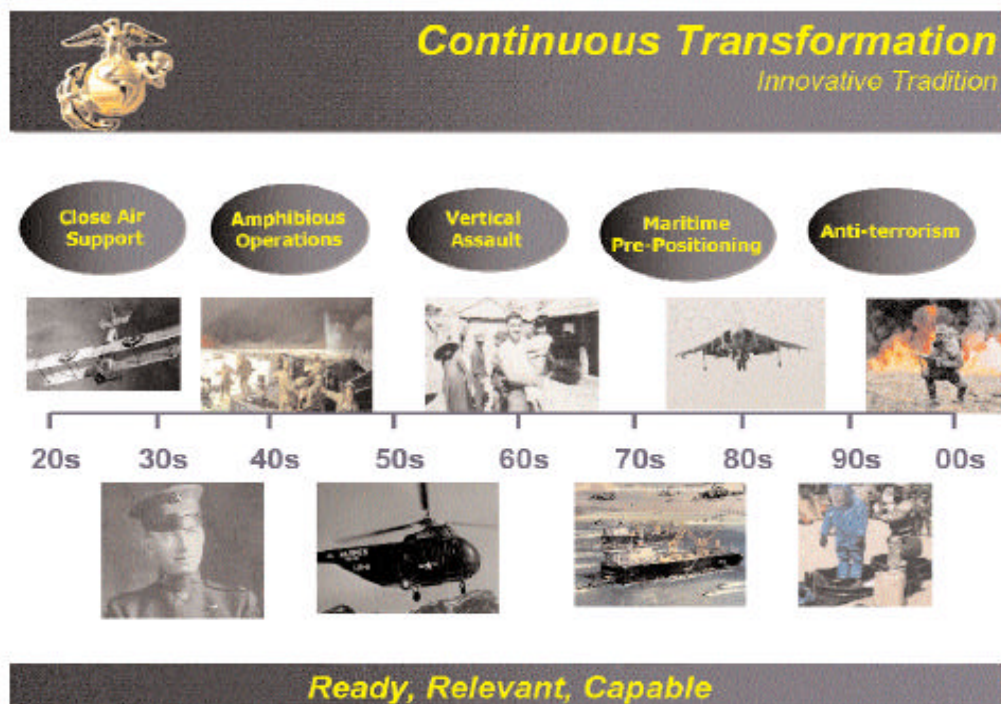

Figure 2. Continuous Transformation: *Innovative Transformation.* Source: USMC, *United States Marine Corps Concepts and Programs 2002* (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters Marine Corps, Programs and Resources Division, 2002), 2.

<u>Doctrinal Distribution and the *Small Wars Manual*.</u>

In addition to the fact that the amphibious operations of World War II pushed the Small Wars advocates' agenda to the background, the *SWM's* classification also contributed to its erosion in status. Physical access to the manual as well as its distribution became difficult. The Marines classified the *SWM* as "Restricted," thus immediately creating physical access and distribution friction. Even more telling, the *SWM* earlier version, the 1935 *Small Wars Operations*, a Marine Corps Schools student text, "was marked 'Restricted' and contained the warning on the title page: 'Not to pass out of the custody of the U.S. Naval or Military Service.'"[15] Granted, post-1940 technology allowed for mass document reproduction, and the Navy-Marine Corps possessed an internal publication distribution system; however, access to classified materials was just as cumbersome and restrictive in the 1940s as in 2003. Consequently, the *SWM* most likely languished unused and unread in a unit's security vault, inside a three-drawer safe, with access strictly controlled. Physical handling was limited to Publications Clerks and Security Managers.

The *SWM* commercial edition underscores doctrinal distribution difficulties. The manual's title page duplicates a handwritten note by a Major G. Kelly, serving with what was then Headquarters Marine Corps (HQMC) Training and Support Company, that reads, "11 Feb 1972--Declassified, Auth DoD Directive 5200.9 of 27 Sep 58."[16] The *SWM* was a doctrinal treasure buried in a labyrinth of classified access procedures, and it remained restricted (thus available only in controlled spaces) and virtually forgotten from World War II to its 1987 reprint. Clearly, the Marine Corps' publication, distribution, and classification system contributed to the *SWM's* doctrinal erosion. A forty-seven year

period that included both the Vietnam War which Dr. Ronald Shaffer characterizes as the

United States' ". . . longest and most searchingly-reported 'small war'"[17] and the

Marine's Beirut Peacekeeping Operation tragedy.

<center>Containment Doctrine and the *Small Wars Manual*</center>

The Korean War and President Truman's "Containment Doctrine" further served

to erode the *SWM's* relevance to contemporary operations. Korea's limited war provided

the Marines another amphibious warfare opportunity while Truman's Containment

Doctrine satisfied both Cold War requirements and a war-weary nation by moving Small

Wars operations from the overt Banana Wars to the realm covert operations. Boot

explains:

> after 1945 the emphasis switched to covert operations, with Washington
> supplying arms and expertise to friendly governments battling communist
> insurgencies. This approach failed spectacularly in China, which was taken over
> by the communists in 1949, but it worked elsewhere. A small sample of the
> victories: Between 1945 and 1949, Greece defeated the communist Democratic
> Army with U.S. help provided under the Truman Doctrine. Between 1946 and
> 1954, the Philippine government, advised by the "Quiet American," Edward
> Lansdale, put down the Hukbalahap rebellion. And between 1980 and 1992, El
> Salvador, with U.S. aid provided under the Reagan Doctrine, defeated the
> Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. In all these instances, the U.S.
> strategy called for carrots and sticks – aggressive military operations against the
> rebels combined with liberalizing reforms to win over the uncommitted populace.
> And in all these cases, the U.S. and its allies won. The glaring exception is
> Vietnam.[18]

Thus, the CIA covertly fought Small Wars and the Marine Corps concentrated on

high intensity conflict warfare that highlighted amphibious operations and sustained

operations ashore alongside the United States Army. The Korean War and the Truman

Doctrine was incongruent with the *SWM*, so the Manual's downward spiral continued

<center>28</center>

despite content applicable to MOOTW activities often inherent in these police actions and low intensity conflicts.

<div align="center">Massive Retaliation and the <i>Small Wars Manual</i></div>

Shortly after the Korean War, the Eisenhower Administration (1953 to 1961) elevated modern warfare's stakes with "Massive Retaliation," a military strategy that relied upon nuclear superiority and continued emphasis on covert action to deal with problems earlier associated with Small Wars.[19] Thus Cold War approaches, and not Small Wars, dominated military theory and operational thought. The nation's primary security tool lay with the deterrent inherent in and emphasis on nuclear weaponry.

<div align="center">Flexible Response and the <i>Small Wars Manual</i>.</div>

In contrast with the Eisenhower Administration, the Kennedy and Johnson era (1961 to 1969) elicited a "flexible response" strategy "to confront the Soviets with conventional and counterinsurgency forces as well as with nuclear arms . . . requiring forces capable of deterring and, if necessary, fighting the Soviets at all levels of conflict."[20] What once had been purely covert CIA Small Wars began to include an overt element--military advisors performing what are now considered National Assistance/Counterinsurgency (NA/COIN) and Support to Insurgency missions.

> John F. Kennedy had been a great enthusiast for low-intensity conflict. He changed the nation's official military strategy from Massive Retaliation to Flexible Response, pledging to meet aggression at any level without instantly hauling out nuclear weapons. As part of this policy (and over the objections of the brass), he bestowed the green beret on the special forces and expanded their budget. The army was happy to have more funding, but it adamantly resisted attempts to move its focus away from preparing for a forces' approach to future small wars.[21]

The 1960s emerged as a strategic environment ripe for *SWM* application. However, given the limited awareness of the manual, it was largely ignored. Boot's *Savage Wars of Peace* concludes, ". . . that the American armed forces paid a high price in Vietnam for neglecting to study the *Small Wars Manual*."[22] He asserts that "America's defeat there stemmed from many factors, including a ham-handed military campaign that ignored successful counterinsurgency techniques of the past."[23]

Boot's assertions are true with respect to Vietnam in a macro-perspective. It is also logical to agree with Michael E. Peterson's *The Combined Action Platoon*, which concludes that failure to study the Manual resulted in both the United States Army Special Forces (Green Berets) advocating and the Marine Corps accepted an unsophisticated and flawed counterinsurgency doctrine.

> The *Small Wars Manual* was replaced in 1962 by [Fleet] Marine Force Manual 8-2, *Operations Against Guerrilla Forces*, an agglomeration of old experience, technological updating, and borrowings from U.S. Army doctrine. That doctrine was derived from a different set of experiences than the Marines'. . . . The Army's doctrine contained a dangerous conceptual pitfall in that it overlooked a vital distinction between two types of guerrilla warfare: partisan and insurgent."[24]

Despite Boot and Peterson's well-documented perspectives, it remains unclear to what degree Vietnam War era Marines were ignorant of the *SWM*. In the quote above Peterson claims Fleet Marine Force Manual 8-2 was the Manual's successor, thus implying that the Marines acknowledged the *SWM* and deliberately revised and updated it. However, the Marine Corps Association claims Fleet Marine Force Manual 21, *Operations Against Guerilla Forces* replaced the *SWM*.[25] Dr. Shaffer's foreword to the *Small Wars Manual* (commercial version), contradicts both Peterson and the Marine Corps Association. He claims the manual's successor was a 1949 "ten-page pamphlet,"

30

but fails to reference the source and further notes that a Marine officer contributing to the

1960's training manual, *Anti-Guerilla Warfare*, "was unaware that the 1940 *Small Wars*

Manual existed."[26]

In contrast, Moskin claims the *SWM* was "used for its [the Marine Corps]

pacification program in Vietnam 25 years later," but fails to elaborate. However, his

view concurs with that of Lieutenant General Victor H. Krulak (Fleet Marine Force,

Pacific 1964 to 1968). In his book *First to Fight*, Krulak acknowledges both the

contributions of Banana War Marines and the *SWM*.[27] In view of conflicting evidence

over a deliberate *SWM* successor and the degree of ignorance about the Manual, it is fair

to say that the *SWM* was not widely distributed. Perhaps even more unfortunate, the

Marine Corps has yet to update either its *SWM* or counterinsurgency doctrine in 2003.[28]

Fortunately, during the Vietnam War, the Banana Wars mindset and knowledge of

previous service often prevailed.

At the Strategic and Operational Level of War, where Lieutenant General Victor

"Brute" Krulak served as Commanding General of what is now designated Marine Forces

Pacific, it is highly unlikely that Krulak lacked knowledge of both the Banana War

Marines' experiences and the *SWM*. As mentioned in *First to Fight*, he graduated from

the Marine Schools "Junior Course" the same year that the Manual was published.[29]

However, it is difficult to determine whether he borrowed directly from the *SWM* in

drafting the Marines' spreading inkblot strategy. This involved ". . . expanding American

control slowly from the seacoast by pacifying one hamlet after another."[30] This approach

was similar to Joseph Gallieni's "progressive occupation," which French colonial forces

utilized as early as 1890 in what was then called Tonkin.[31] Furthermore, Boot and

Pulitzer Prize winning author Neil Sheehan buttress Krulak's appreciation for both the

Banana Wars era and *SWM*. Boot attributed Krulak's perspective to the "the Corps'

small wars tradition, learning from, and serving alongside, many of the veterans of Haiti,

the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. The plan Krulak developed for winning in

Vietnam drew on those experiences."[32] Sheehan's *A Bright Shining Lie* agrees, but goes

further and directly credits the *SWM's* influence on Krulak's strategic aim:

> that there was a school of pacification strategist within the upper ranks of the
> Marine Corps because of its institutional history. The decades of pre-World War
> II pacifying in Central America and the Caribbean, codified in the Corps' *Small
> Wars Manual*, were a strategic precedent which ruled that wars like Vietnam were
> wars of pacification. The Marines had adopted an approach that emphasized
> pacification over big-unit battles almost from the outset of their buildup in I
> Corps. While Krulak had been the guiding intellect, taking account of the special
> conditions of the Vietnamese wars and grafting social and economic reform onto
> the strategy the Marines had followed in those earlier decades of pacifying,
> Greene and other senior Marine officers believed just as firmly in the concept.[33]

At the Operational Level, Lieutenant General Lewis Walt serving in a "One

Commander and One Staff" role as both Military Assistance Command Vietnam's

Marine Corps component and Marine Amphibious Force Commander, was subject to

similar experiences as Krulak; however, none are directly attributable to the *SWW*. [34]

Rather Walt's acceptance and enthusiasm for the Combined Action Program (CAP)

perhaps was attributable to the legendary Lieutenant General "Chesty" Puller's Banana

Wars legacy. As Peterson demonstrates, Puller was a former Banana Wars Company

Commander who returned from Nicaragua to become:

> the chief instructor at the Marines' Basic School in Quantico, Virginia. One of
> his first students was 2nd Lt. Lewis Walt . . . [who] would also figure largely in
> the formation of the Combined Action Program. Viewed from this perspective,
> the Combined Action Platoon may be seen to be a direct descendant of Company
> M.[35]

Finally, at the tactical level, both *Marine Corps Operations* and Peterson credit the Corps for the CAP that ultimately utilized *SWM*-type techniques without direct access to the Manual itself. *Marine Corps Operations* claims the III Marine Amphibious Force, "building on the counterinsurgency experiences of Marines in Haiti and Nicaragua . . . created the combined action platoon program in South Vietnam in 1965."[36] Peterson agrees, claiming that:

> The Combined Action Program did not spring forth like some Athena from Zeus' forehead, mature and full conscious. The Program grew and was nourished by the Marines' historical traditions and strategic orientation . . . [and that] what is particularly noteworthy here is three major characteristics that distinguished the CAPs throughout the war were so early established: 1) the interspersed USMC squad/PF platoon; 2) the specialized training for the Marines prior to duty with the CAPS; and 3) the volunteer nature of the program.[37]

Thus, with respect to the *SWM* and Vietnam War-era Marines, Andrew J. Birtle best explains the indirect *SWM*-Vietnam phenomenon by what he terms as "informal doctrine." Informal doctrine involved ". . . custom, tradition, and accumulated experience that was transmitted from one generation of soldiers to the next through a combination of official and unofficial writings, curricular materials, conversation, and individual materials."[38] Unfortunately, given restrictions on circulation, the *SWM* remained largely inaccessible when it was most relevant to what Boot considers, similar to Dr. Shaeffer, America's biggest Small War.[39] One has to wonder what impact the *SWM* might have had during the Vietnam War if the Manual had been distributed and studied as aggressively at the time as in the late twentieth century and the early twenty first century.

<u>Nixon Doctrine and the *Small Wars Manual*</u>

President Kennedy's emphasis on "Green Berets" did not diminish Marine Corps MOOTW-style requirements during the Vietnam War. However, the United States Army Special Forces subsequently relieved the Marines of many post-Vietnam long-term NA/COIN operations. These closely resembled the "*ready to suppress or contain international disturbances short of war*," especially while executing President Nixon's "bilateral and multilateral alliances to contain Soviet expansion."[40] Special Forces dominated "counterinsurgency" and "support to insurgency" campaigns, while Marines remained true to their ambiguous Small Wars "force in readiness" role. Consequently, the Marines were estranged from their roots as "the first military service to view counterinsurgency and other forms of small war fighting as an integral part of its mission."[41]

<u>The Carter and Reagan Doctrines and the *Small Wars Manual*</u>

The 1975 Senate Armed Services Committee tasked the Marines with reevaluating their roles and missions resulting in the Haynes Board.[42] This Board permitted the Small Wars ghosts to creep back into the fight, this time against Cold War amphibious advocates who formed a modern version of the Advance Naval Bases camp.

> Some planners believed the Corps should strengthen its firepower and help defend Europe. They said that a prepositioned conventional deterrent remains credible only if it can be reinforced and that the Marine Corps' ready force serves this purpose. Others saw the Corps' future value not in supplementing U.S. Army forces in Europe but in intervening against nonsuperpowers, where American interests and citizens are endangered or where the superpowers' interests clash.[43]

The Small Wars advocates lost again in 1976, when the Haynes Board recommended a "mid and high intensity wars" focus. The Marines subsequently

concentrated on "more heavily armed and armored [forces]" capable of "dispersal and rapid mobility that could destroy attacking tanks, aircraft and the enemy's new weapons at greater distances."[44] Over a decade later, this focus proved worthwhile in light of the Marine Gulf War performance in 1990 to 1991. But the same focus had done little to prepare the Marines for missions such as the tragic Beirut Peace Operations (1982 to 1984).

Between these actions, General P. X. Kelley, twenty-eighth Commandant of the Marine Corps (1983 to 1987), appeased the Small Wars advocates by charging his Marines to prepare for both missions. His assertion was that, "The Marine Corps is what you want it to be. Amphibious operations are our primary mission, and we have to be ready to cope with every level of conflict."[45] The door remained open for the Banana War Marine ghosts to enter. Kelley's license meant, "in a strange and rational way--and without abrogating the possibility of massing power in the future--the Corps was going back to a reborn version of what it had been before the massive actions of World War II."[46] Despite the lessons of the Vietnam War's CAP, the CIA and Special Forces protracted Central American counterinsurgency campaigns, and Beirut Peace Operations, the Marine's doctrinal focus still remained amphibious. Mastering what was then termed Low Intensity Conflict during the Cold War could not compete on equal terms with General Kelley's challenge to match the MAGTF global tactical mobility against the Soviet "evil empire."

Still, all was not lost with respect to Small Wars. Perhaps in response to both General Kelly's "full operational spectrum" challenge and the numerous Cold War, Low Intensity Conflict situations, Headquarters Marine Corps in 1987 reprinted the venerable

SWM.[47] As a result, in 2003 the *SWM* remains in print and relevant to many. It is studied

in Marine Corps officer professional military education institutions (The Basic School,

Expeditionary Warfare School, Command and Staff College), sister-service institutions,

and civilian universities (Yale, Rice). Furthermore, the *SWM* is referenced in both the

Marine's current MCWP 3-35.3, *Military Operations in Urban Terrain* doctrine and

Marine Corps Order 1510.99 "Competencies for the Marine Officer, Volume 2--

Captains." Moreover, numerous academic monographs, thesis, dissertations and popular

history books address the *SWM's* content.[48]

<div align="center">Nunn-Cohen Amendment and the Small Wars Manual</div>

The same year, as the *SWM's* reprint, the Nunn-Cohen Amendment to Congress'

1987 National Defense Authorization Act established United States Special Operations

Command (SOCOM) as a supporting combatant command, and provided the command

with its own budget.[49] Because low intensity conflict OOTW-type operations were

becoming synonymous with special operations, SOCOM retained operational control of

an array of forces ranging from the United States Air Force's Special Operations Wing's

gunships, United States Army's 75th Ranger Regiment and United States Navy Seal's

Team 6 primarily conducting strikes and raids to United States Army's Psychological

battalion's supporting Information Operations, Civil Affairs battalions fulfilling Nation

Assistance and the Green Berets engaged in counterinsurgency respectively.[50]

The difference between SOCOM special operations and the Marines suppress or

contain international disturbances requirement continued to blur, particularly following

the Marine Corps' pre-emptive response in 1986 to the emerging strength of the Special

Operations community by standing up its Marine Expeditionary Unit Special Operations

Capable program. This initiative provided very specific special operations capabilities to the regional combatant commanders.[51] Marines provided theater commanders an alternative force in a forward-deployed posture that provided both a contingency response and a deliberate Theater Security Cooperation Plan shaping force.[52] Marines retained their semi-permanent contingency and crisis response "boots on the ground" commitment, while SOCOM featured a long-term NA/COIN presence, and a direct action surgical strike package. In light of the ongoing OEF and OIF 2003, SOF proliferation is said to be ". . . more in evidence in the world's developing nations than Peace Corps volunteers and USAID food experts."[53]

<div align="center">Engagement and Enlargement and the Small Wars Manual</div>

Dr. Bickel's comments perhaps best reflect the Clinton Administration Engagement and Enlargement response to the post-Cold War era:

> the history of single hegemonic states--for example, Rome, Spain, France, and England--suggests that the policing of a lesser powers becomes a preoccupation during relatively stable or peaceful period. In the wake of the Cold War the United States has already engaged in Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, and Bosnia.[54]

The aforementioned operations were similar in many ways to the Marines' Banana War experiences, and therefore, appropriate for *SWM* application. However, in contrast with the situation during the Vietnam War, the *SWM* is now readily available, thanks to the Marine Corps 1987 reprint and Sunflower Press' commercial printing (August 1996). The doctrine of the post-Vietnam era, Low Intensity Conflict, had evolved into a joint operational doctrine termed operations other than war by 1993. Later in 1995, the CJCS formally discarded the OOTW terminology and recognized MOOTW in its JP 3-0,*Joint Doctrine for Operations* and a month later released its JP 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for*

MOOTW.[55] Despite JP 3-07's purpose as a joint forces conceptual guidepost, soldiers headed to Somalia and Bosnia having received instruction on the key tenants of the *Small Wars Manual.*[56]

As MOOTW doctrine has matured in the 1990s, an emerging operational Order of Battle evolved. SOF and MEU (SOC)'s provided contingency response and deliberate Theater Cooperation Security Plan support, while the larger Marine Expeditionary Brigades (Amphibious or Maritime Prepositioning Forces) and or United States Army light infantry divisions fulfilled the more robust, follow-on crisis response missions. As conflicts subsided, United States Army and SOF remained in theater to conduct what Army doctrine refers to as stability and or support operations, while Marines reconstituted and prepared for the combatant commander's next mission.

Small Wars Manual and Preemptive Strike

In response to the 11th of September 2002 terrorist attacks, the Bush Administration announced a preemptive strike strategy against nations that harbor terrorists and proliferates weapons of mass destruction (WMD). This strategy aggressively reinforces legitimate governments in their conduct of counterterrorism missions, both covertly and overtly.[57] As a carryover from the Clinton Administration, a variety of Banana War imperialism returned in the guise of protective or preemptive interventions. The difference this time is that the driver is the war on terrorism, not the Banana Wars interests such as protecting the Dole Food Companies Nicaragua-based plantations or checking Axis powers proliferation.

The Preemptive Strike strategy shed both the remaining vestiges of the Containment Doctrine and the Vietnam Syndrome that inspired the Powell Doctrine. The

fight against terrorism may require executing a protracted, expeditionary MOOTW campaign. The situation becomes ripe for the *SWM* theory and TTP application. In addition, United States SOCOM has evolved from Nunn-Cohen's supporting command to become a supported command, with a particular focus on counterterrorism.[58] Some Pentagon advocates have even called for establishing Special Operating Forces as a fifth branch of service. One administration official said: "Harry Truman saw the value of air power and made the Air Force a separate branch in 1947. If Truman were president today, he'd do the same for special operations forces."[59] However, SOF has limitations. Assistant Secretary for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, Marshall Billingsea, has noted that since SOF ". . . cannot be mass produced, nor can their equipment . . . conventional forces are going to have to step in and pick up certain missions." These missions include combat search-and-rescue, DoD support to counterdrug operations, Noncombatant evacuations operations, and Nation Assistance.[60]

A month after Secretary Billingsea's comments, the 2nd Marine Division formed the nucleus of United States Central Command's Commander Joint Task Force--Horn of Africa in an open-ended counterterrorism and NA/COIN mission to support OEF and in the European Command Area of Responsibility Marine forces replaced Green Berets training indigenous forces (Foreign Internal Defense) in the landlocked Republic of Georgia.[61] SOCOM's role has continued to expand demonstrating agility for OIF as its forces executed:

> one of the biggest Special Operations missions ever, with a thousand Delta Force members and Rangers in the west and another thousand Special Forces troops in the north and south. In almost every aspect, the missions broke new ground: Some units 'staged' into Iraq through former Soviet bloc member Bulgaria. In northern Iraq, conventional Army paratroopers and tank units were put under the

command of a Special Operations general. In the south, meanwhile, some Special Operations troops were put under the command of regular Army generals.[62]

Mindful of SOCOM's limited personnel depth, it is not difficult to surmise that the Marine Corps and both the United States Army's light infantry and emerging Brigade Combat Teams will assume more of SOCOM's non-counterterrorism missions. Thus the year 2003 finds Marines potentially returning to Banana Wars operations instead of temporary limited objective, limited duration missions. The following table provides a snapshot for perspective on these two periods:

Table 1. Banana Wars versus 2003 Operating Environment

Banana Wars (1901-1934)	2003 COE
Monroe Doctrine	Pre-Emptive Strike
Protracted Interventions	Protracted Liberations
Small Wars	MOOTW
Counterinsurgency	Counter Terrorism/CCO
Political Revolutions	Religious Revolutions
European/Axis Influence	Islamic Extremism
Jungle/Mountain Operations	Urban/Littoral Operations
Navy Department/Single Svc Dominant	Joint Forces
Machine Guns	WMD

As indicated, the differences are subtle and the congruence enlightening despite the intervening lapsed time. WMD and terrorism represent the only notable exceptions. Even more congruent are the *SWM* and *Expeditionary Operations* threat perspectives which share a common respect for the unconventional warrior's capabilities.

Table 2. *Small Wars Manual* Versus *Expeditionary Operations:* "The Threat"

Small Wars Manual	*Expeditionary Operations*
The future opponent may be as well armed as they are [regular army]; he will be able to concentrate a numerical superiority against isolated detachments at the time and place he chooses; as in the past he will have thorough knowledge of the trails, the country, and the inhabitants; and he will have the inherent ability to withstand all the natural obstacles, such as climate and disease, to a greater extent than a white man. All these natural advantages, combining primitive cunning and modern armament, will weigh heavily in the balance against the advantage of the marine forces in organization, equipment, intelligence and discipline, if a careless audacity is permitted to warp good judgment.[63]	Conversely, smaller-scale contingencies frequently also involve clashes with unconventional military or paramilitary organizations – criminal and drug rings, vandals and looters, militias, guerillas, terrorist organizations, urban gangs – that blur the distinction between war and widespread criminal violence. These organizations are likely to employ unconventional weapons and techniques – even relatively simple and cheap weapons of mass destruction – that provide a challenging asymmetrical response to a superior conventional capability.[64]

The reemerging series of realities require the Marines to review their MOOTW or Small Wars role and current doctrine. These include the willingness to conduct pre-emptive strikes, the intra-state versus inter-state wars and conflicts; the increase in protracted MOOTW operations; the SOCOM focus on counterterrorism; and conventional forces assumption of special operations missions. Can the Marine Corps dismiss the possibility of a protracted MOOTW campaign or Small Wars intervention in light of the current strategic environment? Both the COE and the nature of this question underscore the *SWM's* relevance and highlight CETO's pending *SWM* update. If the *SWM Volume II* addresses a twenty-first century protracted MOOTW campaign as did the original Manual with reference to early twentieth century circumstances, the new Manual's impact may prove similar to that of the 1987 reprint. Dr. Bickel noted that the "Corps resurrect[ing] the *Small Wars Manual* and reprint[ing] it in its entirety, without

edits" was at the time "prescient in returning to a doctrine with applicability to a future of messy internal wars."[65]

In conclusion, it was the *SWM's* doctrinal influence not its relevance that eroded over the years. A number of variables accounted for erosion: the primacy of amphibious operations and large scale conventional operations during World War II and the Korean War; security classification and limited physical distribution; the Cold War MAGTF operational focus; the emergence of SOCOM; the changing national security strategies; and ultimately, the Marines' self-declared limited objective, limited duration doctrine. In 2003, the *SWM* accords with General Krulak's Chaos in the Littorals and Three Block War depictions of the twenty-first century operating environment.[66] CETO's *SWM Volume II* provides an opportunity to revisit MOOTW as a Type Operation similar to those the Banana War Marines confronted during the inter-war years. This development responds to General Krulak's charge that "military doctrine cannot be allowed to stagnate . . . [It] must continue to evolve based on growing experience, advancements in theory, and the changing face of war itself."[67]

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[1]Moskin, Robert J., *The United States Marine Corps Story*, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), 147. The Marine Corps--DoS relationship continues through both the Marine Security Guard program that provides internal security for all American Embassies and the Marine's "lead" in maintaining joint doctrine for Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations.

[2]Jonathan Rauch, review of *The Savage Wars of Peace,* by Max Boot, *Government Executive Magazine*, 18 June 2002; available from http://www.govexec.com/new/index.cfm; Internet; accessed on 24 September 2002.

[3]Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 145.

[4]Ibid., 129.

[5]Moskin, 222.

[6]Bickel, Keith B., Ph.D., *Mars Learning* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 205.

[7]Ibid, 211-212. As quoted from Donald Bittner, "Russell, John Henry," in *The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions, 1898-1934*, ed. Benjamin Beede (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 472.

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Moskin, 699.

[8]Moskin, 223.

[9]Bickel, xi.

[10]Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*, 284-285.

[11]United States Marine Corps, "Making Marine and Winning Battles . . . Since 1775" (Washington, DC: United States Marine Corps Official Home Page) quoting from Congress, "A Strategic Concept for a Corps of Marines", 82nd Cong. 2nd Session, 1952; brochure on-line; available from http://www.usmc.mil/download/make.nsf/pdf; Internet; accessed on 1 January 2003.

[12]United States Marine Corps, "Joint Publications" (Quantico VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command Doctrine Division Official Home Page; available from https://www.doctrine.quantico.usmc.mil/jointpubs.htm; Internet; accessed on 3 January 2003).

[13]Department of the Navy, MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 27 September 2001), 1-4; also available from https://www.doctrine. quantico.usmc.mil/mcdp/html/mcdp10.htm; Internet; last accessed on 28 December 2002: and United States Marine Corps, *United States Marine Corps Concepts and Programs 2002* (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters Marine Corps, Programs and Resources Division, 2002), 2; book on-line; available on line from http://hqinet001.hqmc.usmc.mil/p&r/ concepts/concepts.htm; Internet; accessed on 17 May 2003.

[14]Department of the Navy, "Naval Transformation Roadmap: Power and Access . . . From the Sea" (Marine Corps Combat Development Command Official Home Page, 2002, 40; document on-line; available from http://www.mccdc.usmc.mil/pdf_files/ Naval_Transformation_Roadmap.pdf; Internet; accessed on 17 May 2003).

[15]Richard C. McMonagle, Major, USMC, "The *Small Wars Manual* and Military Operations Other Than War," Thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1996), 57 quoting *Small Wars Operations* (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Schools, Marine Barracks, 1935), title page.

[16]United States Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual: United States Marine Corps 1940 with an Introduction by Ronald Shaffer* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower Press, 1996), index page.

[17]Ibid., xv. Sunflower Press reprints Dr. Shaffers foreword which was originally featured in "The 1940 Small Wars Manual and the 'Lessons of History,' "*Military Affairs*, April 1972, 46-51.

[18]Max Boot, "Forget Vietnam--History Deflates Guerilla Mystique," *Los Angeles Times,* 6 April 2003.

[19]United States Marine Corps, Marine Corps Doctrinal Publication 1-1, *Strategy* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1997), 52.

[20]Ibid., 52-53.

[21]Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace,* 293.

[22]Ibid., 316.

[23]Boot, "Forget Vietnam."

[24]Michael E. Peterson, *The Combined Action Platoons: The U.S. Marines' Other War in Vietnam* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1989), 18, quoting Larry E. Cable, *Conflict of Myths: The Development of American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 5.

[25]T. N. Greene, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC, *The Guerrilla--And How to Fight Him*, 4th ed. (New York: Praeger 1965), 250.

[26]Shaeffer, v.

[27]Moskin, 224; and Victor H. Krulak, *First to Fight* (Annapolis: United State Naval Institute, 1984), 200.

[28]MCWP 3-33.5, *Counterinsurgency* reflects an "Awaiting Development" status. United States Marine Corps (Quantico, VA: MCCDC Doctrine Division Official, Homepage; available on line at https://www.doctrine.quantico.usmc.mil/mcwp/ htm/mcwp3335.htm; Internet; last accessed on 3 December 2002).

[29]United States Marine Corps, "Who's Who in Marine Corps History" (Quantico, VA: United States Marine Corps History and Museums Division, Official Homepage; available from http://hqinet001.hqmc.usmc.mil/HD/Historical/Whos_Who/Krulak_VH. htm; Internet; accessed on 17 May 2003).

Krulak, 189-216.

[30]Boot, 295.

[31]"In Indochina, Gallieni was given the tasks of pacifying the extreme north of the country, which was infested by the Black Flags, Chinese "pirates" whom the French had driven from their coastal strongholds. Abandoning concepts of large-scale operations or "front lines," Gallieni put into practice a method he called "progressive occupation." Posts were established around which patrols would circulate, progressively extending the area of control until they touched upon that of an adjacent post. At the same time, the post would become a market that attracted the natives, often by purchasing their goods at prices above the market level. The arrival of the indigenous population allowed the French to make contacts and gather intelligence but, above all, to demonstrate that prosperity would follow cooperation with the French. The natives, grateful for the economic reconstruction of their land via the roads, markets, wells, and other public works projects sponsored by the French, recognized the advantages of colonialism and rallied to the occupying power." Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton NJ: Princeton Press, 1986) as quoted in Douglas Porch's, "Bugeaud, Gallieni, Lyautey: The Development of French Colonial Warfare," 388.

[32]Boot, 295.

[33]Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 632.

[34]Department of the Navy, MCWP 0-1.1, *Componency* (Washington, DC: United States Marine Corps, 5 June 1998), 48; available from https://www.doctrine.quantico. usmc.mil/mcdp/html/mcdp101.htm; Internet; last accessed on 17 May 2003.

[35]Peterson, 16.

[36]Moskin, 224; and Department of the Navy, *Marine Corps Operations*, 1-5.

[37]Peterson, 23-24.

[38]Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine: 1860-1941* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 1998), 5.

[39]Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace,* 316.

[40]Department of the Navy, *Strategy*, 53.

[41]Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*, 283.

[42]Moskin, 699.

[43]Ibid., 704.

[44]Ibid., 710,708,

[45]Ibid., 760.

[46]Ibid., 761.

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[48]Bickel, xii,

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Richard C. McMonagle, Major, USMC, "The Small Wars Manual and Military Operations Other Than War" (Thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, 1996).

Joseph L. Osterman, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC, "Then and Now: A Strategic Primer for Post-Conflict Activities" (Strategy Research Project, US Army War College, 2000).

Michael C. Lopez, Major, USA, "The IBCT Search for Relevance in Stability and Support Operations" (Monograph, US Army Command and General Staff College's School of Advanced Military Studies, 2 January 2001).

[49]The Nunn-Cohen Amendment created USSOCOM and consolidated all SOF under one command. Forces making up SOF include Army Special Operations Aviation, Special Forces, Rangers, Civil Affairs, and Psychological Operations forces; Air Force special operations aviators and special tactics teams; and Navy Sea, Air, and Land (SEAL) Teams and Special Boat Units. The Nunn-Cohen Amendment also provides USSOCOM with its own Major Force Program 11 (MFP-11) funding. This legislation provides USSOCOM with the authority, direction and control of funds that allows it to develop and acquire Special Operations peculiar equipment to prepare SOF to carry out our assigned missions. *Nunn-Cohen Department of Defense Authorization Act of 1987*, Title 10, Section 167, U.S. Code (1987).

[50]Other Operations Than War succeeded Low Intensity Conflict as the doctrinal term to describe current MOOTW actions. Chairman Joints Chief of Staff, JP 3-0 *Doctrine for Joint Operations* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1 February 1995), V-2.

"Special Operations--Operations conducted by specially organized, trained and equipped military and paramilitary forces to achieve military, political, economic, or psychological objectives by unconventional military means in hostile, denied, or politically sensitive areas. These operations are conduced during peacetime competition, conflict and war, independently or in coordination with operations of conventional, nonspecial operations forces. Political-military considerations frequently shape special operations, requiring clandestine, covert, or low visibility techniques and oversight at the national level. Special operations differ from conventional operations in degree of physical and political risk, operational techniques, mode of employment, independence from friendly support, and dependence on detailed operational intelligence and indigenous assets. United States Marine Corps, Marine Corps Reference Publication 5-12A, *Operational Terms and Graphics* (Washington, DC: USGPO PCN 211000008000, 30 September 1997), 1-142.

[51]General P. X. Kelly established the permanent MAGTF concept in 1986 which replaced the temporary Marine Amphibious Units which had first begun to deploy in 1985, Moskin, 761.

Tom Clancy, *Marine: A Guided Tour of a Marine Expeditionary Unit* (New York: Berkely Books, 1996), 213-214.

"The MEU (SOC) program and certification process to Marine Forces in order to meet the National Command Authority and Geographic Combatant Commanders requirements for a certified, versatile MAGTF that provides a sea-based, forward presence with inherent operational flexibility to respond rapidly to multiple mission." United States Marine Corps, "Marine Corp Order 3120.9B: Policy for Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable) (MEU(SOC))," Headquarters Marine Corps Plans, Policy and Operations Department (POE-30 Expeditionary Branch Official Home Page, 25 September 2001) 1, available on line from http://hqinet001.hqmc.usmc. mil/pp&o/POE/MAGTF%20Special%20Ops/MCO%203120.9B.pdf; Internet; accessed on 17 May 2003.

[52]"Theater Security Cooperation Plans are defined explained by MCO 5710.6 reads as follows: "The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) tasks the Combatant Commanders, through the Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan (JSCP), to develop Theater Security Cooperation (TSC) strategies. The Combatant Commanders, in turn, rely on their service component commanders to contribute to the Combatant Commander's strategy and, ultimately, to carry it out. The Joint Staff and the services will review the Combatant Commanders' TSC. In the past several years, CJCS and the Combatant Commanders have focused their efforts to ensure that security cooperation activities are

coordinated and effective." United States Marine Corps, "Marine Corps Order 5710.6 Policy for Marine Corps International Relations (MCIR) Program," (Washington, DC: United States Marine Corps Official Homepage, 1 October 2002, 1; available from http://www.usmc.mil/directiv.nsf/gam?OpenView&Count=3000; Internet; accessed on 17 May 2003).

[53]Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," *New York Times Magazine*, 5 January 2002, 38.

[54]Bickel, xii.

[55]*Joint Doctrine for Operations,* V-2.

[56]Bickel, xii, quoting Colonel Gary Anderson, USMC Instructor, Marine Corps University. Interview by Dr. Keith A. Bickel, August 1994, MCB Quantico, VA.

[57]President of the United States. "National Security Strategy of the United States of America," September 2002, available from http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html; Internet; accessed on 3 January 2003.

[58]Rowan Scarborough, "'Special Ops' Gets OK to Initiate Its Own Mission," *Washington Times*, 8 January 2002, 8.

[59]William Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, "Inside the Ring," *Washington Times*, 18 October 2002, 15.

[60]Andrew Koch, "USA Expands Special Operations' Role in 'War on Terrorism,'" *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 6 November 2002, 36.

[61]David Josar, "Marines to Relieve Green Berets as Trainers in Georgia," *European Stars and Stripes*, 18 December 2002.

[62]Thomas E. Ricks, "Rumsfeld Stands Tall After Iraq Victory," *Washington Post,* 20 April 2003, A01.

[63]Department of the Navy, *SWM,* 1-6(b).

[64]Department of the Navy, MCDP 3, *Expeditionary Operations* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 16 April 1998), 13.

[65]Bickel, xi-xii.

[66]Department of the Navy, *Expeditionary Operations*, 3.

[67]Department of the Navy, *Warfighting* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 27 June 1997), Foreword.

CHAPTER 3

THE *SMALL WARS MANUAL*: TWENTY-FIRST
CENTURY RELEVANCE CHECK

Given the *SWM's* late twentieth century renaissance, this chapter answers the

supporting question, "What does the *SWM* offer to Twenty-first Century Marine Corps

MOOTW doctrine?" Since much has already been said about the *SWM's* current

relevance, what specifically can be leveraged in the *SWM's* framework and content for

future Marine Corps doctrine. The chapter examines the *SWM''s* specific relevance by

first reviewing its general framework and then analyzing its content by comparing it to

the "Principles of MOOTW" outlined in JP 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW's*

"Principles of MOOTW."

SWM Framework

Determining whether the *SWM's* framework provides a relevant baseline for

future doctrine requires examining its title, literary style, focus and organization.

SWM Title. A discussion of whether the *SWM* reflects a relevant title or term for

future Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine essentially evolves into an argument of whether

the term MOOTW or the term Small Wars better and more accurately reflect

expeditionary operations that MAGTF normally execute. JP 3-07's MOOTW reflects an

appropriate term for the challenging feat of capturing the essence of sixteen different

operations in a single doctrinal phrase. However, as reflected in *Expeditionary*

Operations, normally combatant commanders call upon a MAGTF to execute only those

MOOTW-style activities that require combat and conflict resolution capabilities such as

CCO, non-combatant evacuation operations, and more recently counterterrorism versus

those activities that reflect the remaining MOOTW operations that concentrate on promoting peace or supporting civil authorities.[1] (see figure 1). Given these differences, the term Small Wars appears more applicable to MAGTF operations than the term MOOTW for it more appropriately reflects the operational environment in which MAGTF operate: military interventions and interposition operations.

Furthermore, aside from the Small Wars term reflecting the normal environment in which MAGTF operate, the term reflects a combat style developed from the Banana Wars era and the recent 3-Block War concept from its land component counterpart. In contrast, the United States Army considers its MOOTW combat style as either a "stability" or "support" operation respectively.[2] Its recently published FM 3-07 implies that both operations are distinct and one is either performing one form of the operation or the other which conflicts with the CCO for one is called upon to perform both simultaneously. To be certain, neither the terms Small Wars, Stability Operations, or Support Operations dismiss the doctrinal precedence inherent to joint terminology. They simply attempt to operationalize the joint type operation MOOTW from a service perspective. In the end, the differences between the two services Small Wars versus Stability or Support Operations terminology has been reflected operationally since the Vietnam War.

During the Vietnam War (1965 to 1972) General Lewis Walt organized his CAP to fight the Viet Cong by using a "painstaking campaign to rid the hamlets of the guerrillas and the political cadres, and not merely by killing or capturing them." That approach was similar to the Banana War era tactics outlined in the *SWM's* "Military Territory Organizations" section.[3] The United States Army dismissed these tactics in

52

favor of a firepower and attrition warfare strategy and criticized the Marines for "...

behaving timidly and letting the Army carry the burden of combat."[4] Ultimately, the

Marine Corps' *Warfighting* now highlights Generals Krulak and Walt's pacification

strategy as an example of its maneuver warfare philosophy as opposed to either a stability

or support operation.

Twenty years later during Operation Restore Hope (Somalia 1991), I Marine

Expeditionary Force's Small Wars approached differed significantly from the United

States Army's 10th Mountain Division. Boot notes that:

> By and large they [Marines] have been far better at small wars than the army.
> The contrast was on vivid display in Somalia. The Marines took an aggressive
> attitude. They patrolled actively and always bristled with firepower, letting
> Somalis know they were not to be messed with. Paradoxically the Marines
> wound up killing far fewer Somalis--some 500--than the army, which tried a more
> diplomatic approach but ended up killing 5,000 . . . the Marines read their *Small
> Wars Manual*, which counsels that ' the morale effect of tanks and armored cars is
> probably greater in small wars operations than it is in a major war." They brought
> in armored vehicles to surround warlord compounds and did not suffer any
> disasters.[5]

Three years later during Operation Uphold Democracy (Haiti 1994), Adam

Siegel's Center for Naval Analyses study demonstrated that II Marine Expeditionary

Force's Special Purpose MAGTF Carribbean remained true to their Small Wars approach

versus that of the same 10th Mountain Division forces. Siegel captured these differences

in the following table:

Table 3. Differing Army and Marine Approaches. Source: Adam B. Siegel, "The Intervasion of Haiti" (Alexandria VA: Center for Naval Analyses, Professional Paper 539, August 1996), 24.

Marines: SPMAGTF CARIB	Army Forces (principally 10th MTN)
Minimal change in operations with the change from forcible to permissive	Shift in plan meant an almost total change in the approach and the Army force list.
Minimal ROE confusion; stopped FAd'h violence from the start.	Some ROE confusion; late ROE cards; watched Haitian-Haitian violence
Confrontation with FAd'H violence from the start	Cooperated with FAd'H
Aggressive civil-military operations; "this is the mission"	Little civil-military activity; avoid "mission creep" as orders call for restoration to D-1 conditions.

Again nine years later during Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003), the I Marine Expeditionary Force Marines retained the Small Wars operational approach in contrast to the United States Army's 3d Infantry Division (ID). During OIF transition phase between combat and post-conflict operations, veteran journalists reported similar differences in operational approaches between the MAGTF and 3d ID operating side-by-side in Baghdad.

> The departure of the marines came as something of a shock in this shattered capital. The roughly 20,000 troops of the First Marine Division had been a highly visible and forceful presence, mounting foot patrols through the streets, working with neighborhood committees to stop looting and arson, and running a civil affairs effort to help get the police, hospitals, electrical and water service up and running. They are now being redeployed to southern Iraq.
>
> The soldiers of the Army's Third Infantry Division, who have now spread out to cover the city, have struck a lower profile. They are largely in tanks or Bradley fighting vehicles at banks, a few major intersections and Mr. Hussein's many palaces, and at the National Museum of Iraq, which has been looted.
>
> Other soldiers are behind the walls of the palace compounds, other government buildings and stationed at the airport. The 101st Airborne Division has troops at the southern edge of the city, including some at the electric power plant in Dawra.

The Army's patrols are conducted largely in small groups of two or three Humvees. Today, one was seen traveling with a white Nissan pickup truck filled with armed militia fighters from the Free Iraqi Forces associated with Mr. Chalabi.

The marines had maintained a presence in and around the Palestine Hotel, where they set up a civil and military operations center, which interviewed job candidates among former government workers and tried to get city services operating.

Although the Army has a more elaborate civil affairs organization, composed largely of reservists with specialized experience, none of their civil affairs officers were visible around the hotel today. They were said to be establishing a base inside one of the former palaces.[6]

Later, while assuming the Baghdad Area of Operations from the 3d ID, the 1st Armored Division's Commanding General's assessment supported the journalist remarks when he described the current mission posture as "a 'finger in the dike' approach."[7]

Finally with respect to the term *SWM's* title, the *SWM* title merits consideration over the proposed MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW* because it reflects both a "brand name" within the MOOTW community and appropriately recognizes the Marine Corps Banana War heritage. Moreover, not only would this title change more accurately reflect MAGTF operations, but also generates enthusiasm from both Marine's and other MOOTW practitioners to study an updated version an enduring Marine Corps legacy doctrine.

SWM Literary Style. In addition to retaining the *SWM's* title, the future MCWP 3-33 doctrine would do well to adopt the *SWM's* aggressive literary style versus the rigid, technical writing style resident in most doctrinal publications. Straight forward, no-nonsense observations such as the highlighted passage below undoubtedly caused Dr. Bickel to appropriately describe the *SWM's* style as one where, "readers could deviate

55

from only at their own peril and other sections providing guidance but calling for individual initiative in application."[8]

> One must ever be on guard to prevent his views becoming fixed as to procedures or methods. Small Wars demand the highest type of leadership directed by intelligence, resourcefulness and ingenuity. Small Wars are conceived in uncertainty, are conducted often with precarious responsibility and doubtful authority, under indeterminate orders lacking specific instructions.[9]

In short, the *SWM* literary prose keeps the reader engaged in the text as opposed to the technical jargon, list of lists, and stifled prose of the current doctrinal manuals.

SWM Focus. Along with its title and literary style, the *SWM* authors focused their work on the dominant, worst-case Small Wars operation of the Banana War era: counterinsurgency operations in the jungle and mountain environment. By focusing upon the dominate operational challenge, the *SWM* authors avoided the temptation to address each Small Wars operation in detail such as from Freedom of Navigation Operations (How to protect a strait?) to Maritime Intercept Operations TTP (Visit, Board, Search and Seizure) and concentrated their efforts on a crisis response force deploying into a hostile expeditionary environment. An all encompassing Small Wars focus would undoubtedly resulted in a cumbersome and intimidating encyclopedia versus tailored doctrine. The *SWM* addresses general Small Wars theory and the Marine Corps role up front then quickly moves into describing a counterinsurgency campaign before finally focusing upon the necessary TTP for operating in the jungle and mountain environment.

Given the multitude of operations that JP 3-07 currently lists under their MOOTW umbrella, the *SWM* demonstrates a relevant method for the Marine Corps to address its current Small Wars doctrinal deficiencies: specifically, a doctrinal expeditionary model for a crisis response force to execute a CCO within a large, urban in the littoral region.

<u>*SWM* Organization</u>. The *SWM's* logical start-to-finish operational approach toward a intervention provides insight on and reinforces an understanding of the compressed levels of warfare inherent to Small Wars and provides a relevant method for problem solving versus the dominant "Collection of Considerations" reflected in many doctrinal publications.

Similarly, although falling short of providing methodology as did the *SWM*, the Joint Warfighting Center's non-doctrinal *JTF Commander's Handbook for Peace Operations* (1997) provides the closest example of a modern *SWM* particularly with respect to its organization. The *JTF Commander's Handbook* generally follows the *SWM's* construct until it approaches the campaign planning aspect where the two publications diverge. The *JTF Handbook* does not address the *SWM's* operational phases and methods of employment other than transition planning. Nevertheless, the *JTF Handbook for Peace Operations* validates the *SWM's* organization as a relevant model for modern future MOOTW doctrine give their given its similarity and recent publishing.

<u>*SWM* Content</u>

Having established that the *SWM* provides a credible framework for future doctrine to build upon, the remainder of this chapter briefly surveys its content against JP 3-07's "Principles of MOOTW" to determine its relevance in light of the COE. The content examined predominately reflects the *SWM's* initial chapters, those that Bickel refers to as the Theoretical chapters and what Boot promotes as an ". . . unparalleled exposition of the theory of small wars," subsequently titled, "Introduction," "Organization," "Logistics," and "Training."[10]

Objective. JP 3-07 advises Joint Force Commanders (JFC) to "direct every military operation toward a clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective" and acknowledges that political considerations dominate throughout a MOOTW.[11] Likewise, MCDP 1, *Warfighting*, emphasizes the same by reemphasizing Clausewitz's maxim that "war is an extension of both policy and politics with the addition of military force."[12] The *SWM* remains congruent with both the aforementioned doctrines; in fact Dr. Wray R. Johnson points out that the Banana War authors established doctrinal precedence with respect to the political endstate driving the military operations ways and means:

> its treatment of revolutionary guerrilla warfare was groundbreaking and remarkable prescient regarding the nature of emerging revolutionary warfare: *'After a study has been made of the people who will oppose the intervention, the strategical plan is evolved. . . . Strategy should attempt to gain psychological ascendancy over the outlaw or insurgent element prior to hostilities. [The] political mission . . . dictates thee military strategy of small wars.'* This statement is quite remarkable in that this was the first time that US military doctrine placed the political mission ahead of military requirements.[13]

The *SWM* consistently nests political and strategic objectives throughout its text and issues a stern charge for Marine officers to expand their professional military education with international relations and intervention history.[14] Its authors emphasized that Marine officers required a keen awareness of the respective Small War political objective for even the early twentieth century expeditionary forces understood that tactical gaffes often result in negative strategic consequences. Thus the *SWM's* content with respect to the "Principle of Objective" continues to remain relevant from both a doctrinal and COE perspective. Marines cannot continue to ignore political objectives and make tactical mistakes. A recent example was OIF "Strategic Corporal" who created a negative, strategic "CNN effect" by hoisting the American flag over Saddam Hussein's

statue in Baghdad. Consequently striking a strategic blow against the United States for

the action "touched a sensitive chord among Arabs and revived concerns of U.S. military

leaders who want their forces to be seen as liberators, not occupiers."[15]

Unity of Effort. JP 3-07 advises the JFC to "seek unity of effort in every

operation" as opposed to the "Principle of War's" unity of command since MOOTW "is

often complicated by a variety of international, foreign and domestic military and non-

military participants."[16] The Banana Wars era did not reflect the often massive and

intrusive non-governmental and international organization participation in military

interventions as compared to the current COE. However, the *SWM* did appreciate JP 3-

07's further unity of effort amplification that, "commanders must establish procedures for

liaison and coordination . . . because MOOTW will often be conducted at the small unit

level." Appropriately, the *SWM* also notes that:

> the matter of working in cooperation with the State Department officials is not
> restricted entirely to higher officials. In many cases very junior subordinates of
> the State Department and the Marine Corps may have to solve problems that
> might involve the United States in serious difficulties.[17]

Furthermore, the *SWM* indirectly encouraged Unity of Effort buy addressing

constabulary operations where Marines served amongst the intervened nations military

forces similar to the Vietnam War's CAP which embedded squads within the South

Vietnamese Popular Forces militias. Moreover, the recently published MCWP 3-33.1,

MAGTF Civil-Military Operations (April 2003) formally designated this Unity of Effort

technique as "combined action" which attempts to "embrace people and their institutions

. . . for cooperative inclusion of local organizations and authorities can strengthen the

MAGTF. For example, MPs are more effective when teamed with Host Nation civil

police . . . the MAGTF should always operate from a basis of partnership and mutual respect."[18] The *SWM* did not explicitly cite Unity of Effort within its text. However, it remains congruent with the JP 3-07 principle given its emphasis on both State Department liaison and combined action with the target nation's population.

Security. The "Principle of Security" not only reflect a military perspective, but includes the other national instruments of power as well when it warns JFCs to "never permit hostile factions to acquire a military, political, or informational advantage."[19] Additionally, JP 3-07 amplifies the necessity for providing security for non-combatants and maintaining strict operational security as well. The *SWM* addresses the principle of security strictly from a military perspective for it describes the principle simply as "freedom of action" that requires an "occupying force . . . strong enough to hold all the strategical points of the country, protect its communications, and at the same time furnish an operating force sufficient to overcome the opposition wherever it appears."[20]

The *SWM* goes further by mandating that the expeditionary force be organized for "mobility and flexibility, and that the troops be highly trained in the use of special weapons as well as proper utilization of terrain."[21] Operational security is addressed in the "Stratagems and ruses" section within the chapter on "Infantry Patrols." Finally, with respect to the principle of Security, the *SWM* describes JP 3-07's Exclusion Zone operations as "Neutral Zones" whose purpose is "to suppress disorder, provide a guard for our nationals, and their property in the port, including our legation or consular buildings, and, in addition, certain local government buildings, such as custom houses."[22]

Restraint. JP 3-07 mandates that the JFC "apply appropriate military capability prudently," and further cautions the JFC that emphasizing restraint is useless unless

"commanders at all levels . . . take proactive steps," and to expect rules of engagement to change often.[23] Reflecting both JP 3-07's "Principle of Restraint" as well as then Major General Anthony Zinni's (USMC) top concerns that a police force and judiciary system could be established soonest during Operation Restore Hope,[24] the *SWM* states:

> The forces of occupation have four weapons to which to act: (a) Moral effects of the presence of troops; (b) intelligence service; (c) provost service (including Exceptional Military Courts); and finally (4) offensive action. In the past, scant attention has been given to these services in the preparation of operation plans for small wars operations. As a rule, they have been established only when the necessities of the operation forced it upon the higher command.[25]

Ultimately, the *SWM* demanded that, "caution must be exercised, and instead of striving to generate the maximum power with forces available, the goal is to gain decisive results with the least application of force and consequent minimum loss of life."[26] Furthermore, the *SWM* counsels its commanders that "a feeling of mutual respect and cooperation between members of the military forces and civil officials on a basis of mutual independence of each other should be cultivated" and demands they accomplish their missions, ". . . with a minimum loss of life and property and by methods that leave no aftermath or taste of bitterness or render the return to peace unnecessarily difficult."[27]

The *SWM* also calls for "a knowledge of the laws relating to the psychology of crowds is indispensable to the interpretation of the elements of revolutionary movements;" encourages non-lethal weapons: for if "properly employed, chemical agents should be of considerable value . . . the most effective weapons to quell civil disorders;" and its Aviation chapter dictates that towns and cities are not legitimate targets since they risk "endangering the lives of noncombatants

61

Finally, the *SWM* echoes similar JP 3-07 cautions concerning the changing rules

of engagement (ROE) for it warns:

> Even after landing, instructions probably will be received not to exert any
> physical force unless it becomes absolutely necessary, and then only to the
> minimum necessary to accomplish the purpose. Thus orders may be received not
> to fire on irregulars unless fired upon; instructions may be issued not to fire upon
> irregular groups if women are present with them even though it is known that
> armed women accompany the irregulars. . . . the underlying reason for this
> condition is the desire to keep the war small, to confine it within a strictly limited
> scope, and to deprive it, insofar as may be possible, of the more outstanding
> aspects of war.[28]

In an overwhelming manner, both JP 3-07 and the *SWM* offer future Marine Corps

doctrine similar perspectives on the "Principle of Restraint" from both a theory and a

TTP perspective.

Perseverance. JP 3-07 warns JFC to "prepare for the measured, protracted

application of military capability in support of strategic aims. Some MOOTW may

require years to achieve desired results."[29] Given the Marine Corps' current limited

objective, limited duration MOOTW perspective, this principle may appear least

applicable. However, the *SWM* implied perseverance within its campaign design. The

"Phases of Small Wars" does not reflect executing enabling operations for follow-on

forces and resources to execute decisive operations as does the current Marine Corps

doctrine. Instead, the *SWM's* campaign design reflects a protracted intervention as

indicated below.

Phase 1: Initial demonstration or landing and action of vanguard.

Phase 2: The arrival of reinforcements and general military operations in the field.

Phase 3: Assumption of control of executive agencies, and cooperation with the

legislative and judicial agencies.

Phase 4: Routine police functions.

Phase 5: Withdrawal from the Theater of Operations.

The *SWM* remains congruent with JP 3-07's "Principle of Perseverance." It takes a

campaign perspective versus that of a tactical operation.

Legitimacy. The "Principle of Legitimacy" states "committed forces must sustain

the legitimacy of the operation and of the host government where applicable."[30] The

SWM makes for similar provisions for it not only requires its officers to sustain a keen

understanding of both the current international situation and previous interventions (see

principle of Objective), but also requires them to execute deliberate actions that enhanced

the "perception . . . of the legality, morality, or righteousness" of the intervention.[31]

For example, similar to the COE, the *SWM* highly regarded engineers and medical

services as key capabilities to convince the intervened nation that its intentions were

noble.

> Experience has demonstrated that the construction, improvement, and
> maintenance of routes of communication, including railroads, one of the most
> important factors in a successful small-wars campaign.

> The medical personnel with the force is one of the strongest elements for gaining
> the confidence and friendship of the native inhabitants in the theater of operations.
> So long as it can be done without depleting the stock of medical supplies required
> for the intervening troops, they should not hesitate to care for sick and wounded
> civilians who have no other source of medial attention.[32]

Additionally, the *SWM* internalized the "Principle of Legitimacy" with its staff

procedures for it demanded fierce resolve in accountability with the local populace. The

SWM considered "*Investigations*--[as] one of the most important duties of the inspector in

small wars is to investigate matters which involve controversies between individuals of

the force and local inhabitants."[33] Claims required prompt attention and efficient record

63

keeping because the *SWM's* Withdrawal chapter repeatedly concentrates its efforts on meticulous reconciliation between its executive staff and the host nation. Granted, one may assume these exhortations are nothing more than standard accountability, but in military-civilian government transitions the departing impression remains lasting for both parties.

In conclusion, both the *SWM's* framework and content remain relevant for the COE and worthy for emulation in many respects. Specifically, future Marine Corps doctrine should adopt the *Small Wars* term to both describe its normal participation in joint MOOTW operations as well as honor its heritage. Next to reviving the more accurate Small Wars terminology, the *SWMs* framework reflects the most relevant aspect for future Marine Corps doctrine development. Its construct allows for the Marine Corps doctrine writers to discuss the Marine Corps' relationship with MOOTW (or Small Wars) and then similar to the *SWM*--provide a contemporary model of an intervention crisis response force. The content of both *SWM* and JP 3-07's reflect similar concerns applicable to the COE, in some cases but not irrelevant. However, in regards to the COE, the *SWM* is understandably deficient in the missions that have evolved since its publishing as indicated in the following:

1. Its TTP focuses upon the Banana Wars dominate jungle and mountain operational environment versus that of today's urban and littoral region.

2. It does not provide for guidance on humanitarian assistance, counterterrorism, and the emerging "Consequence Management" mission in support of both domestic and expeditionary requirements.

Given these arguments and despite its few deficiencies with respect to the COE, the *SWM* most certainly provides a relevant baseline for future Marine Corps doctrine. Perhaps the better questions is not whether to leverage the *SWM* to build future Marine Corps doctrine, but careful analysis if future Marine Corps MOOTW doctrine strays from its proven tracks.

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[1]Department of the Navy, MCDP 3, *Expeditionary Operations* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 16 April 1998), 110.

[2]Department of the Army, FM 3-07, *Stability Operations and Support Operations* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 20 February 2003), 1-2.

[3]Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie*, *John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 635.

Department of the Navy, *Small Wars Manual* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1940; reprint, Washington, DC: USGPO 1987), 5-13 (page citations are from the reprinted edition).

[4]Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 334.

[5]Department of the Navy, *Warfighting* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 27 June 1997), 39; and Sheehan, 636.

[6]John Kifner and Ian Fisher, "Marines End Role in Iraq's Capital as Army Moves In," *New York Times*, 21 April 2003, A1.

[7]"Major General Ricardo Sanchez, Commanding General of the 1st Armored Division, indicated at a meeting today in downtown Baghdad with some of his subordinate commanders that he understands that the new stance increases the risks taken by U.S. troops in a country where attacks on them still occur daily. He said he wanted to protect his troops," but added, "We must not let force protection become our overriding concern, so that we go to ground and build fortresses around ourselves and don't do the mission we came to do." That represents a marked departure from the guarded approach that the Army took in other recent peacekeeping missions, most notably in the Balkans.

In some ways, the changes parallel the revamping of the civilian side of the U.S. occupation effort underway since Bremer arrived this month. In both cases, there is a surprising amount of improvisation going on as occupation officials seek to restore order and re-start civil institutions. "We're making it up with both hands," said one U.S.

military official here. "This isn't the operational climate we expected. We never expected such widespread looting, or such a general collapse of authority."

Underlying the revision of the peacekeeping posture is a feeling that U.S. troops occupying the city have been too reactive. The 3rd Division, which attacked the city in early April, had a "finger in the dike" approach, Sanchez said at the meeting. A reporter was permitted to attend that session and other military meetings on the changes.

Sanchez's suggestion that the 3rd Division never made the transition from combat to peacekeeping is widely held in the 1st Armored. "The 3rd I.D. guys are basically in place where they were when they were told to stop fighting," said Lt. Col. James Boisselle, commander of an infantry battalion that is moving into a part of west Baghdad that is laden with ministries, parade grounds and expensive homes--the Iraqi equivalent of Federal Triangle, the Mall and Georgetown. "Now we're trying to reconfigure that footprint."

In the interest of preserving peace within the Army, no one quite says that the 3rd Division's reactive stance helped contribute to the lawlessness that has plagued postwar Baghdad for the last six weeks. Looting has been extensive, hitting most of the government ministries and other major state buildings, and continuing long after the United States established a major troop presence in the city. Gangs of thieves have terrorized shopkeepers, and carjackings have become a major problem. The widespread absence of electricity and police protection has exacerbated the security problem.

But officers from the new division make it clear that they have studied the situation and intend to take a radically different approach. They say, for example, that 3rd Division patrols were limited in scope, generally restricted to major roads, and almost always conducted "mounted" on vehicles." Thomas Ricks, "US Alters Tactics in Baghdad Operation," *Washington Post*, 25 May 2003, A01.

[8]Bickel, Keith B., Ph.D., *Mars Learning* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 4.

[9]Department of the Navy, *Small Wars Manual,* 1-6(c).

[10]Boot, 284.

[11]Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, Joint Publication 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other Than War* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 16 June 1995), II-1; available on line from http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jpoperationsseriespubs.htm; Internet; accessed on 28 December 2002.

[12]Department of the Navy, *Warfighting*, 23, quoting Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howerd and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 69, 87.

[13]Wray R. Johnson, Ph.D., "Airpower and Restraint in Small Wars: Marine Corps Aviation in the Second Nicaraguan Campaign, 1927-33," *Aerospace Power Journal* (fall 2001) quoting the *SWM* 1-8-13 and 1-10-18.

[14]Department of the Navy, *SWM,* 1-6(d).

[15]William M. Welch, "Statue of Saddam Briefly Sports U.S. Colors," *USA Today*, 10 April 2003, 9.

[16]Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW*, II-3.

[17]Department of the Navy, *SWM*, 1-20(c).

[18]Department of the Navy, MCWP 3-33.1, *MAGTF Civil-Military Operations*, (Washington, DC: USGPO, 7 April 2003), 3-10; Also available from https://www. doctrine.quantico.usmc.mil/mcwp/htm/mcwp3331.htm; Internet; last accessed on 17 May 2003.

[19]Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW*, II-3.

[20]Department of the Navy, *SWM*, 1-9(d).

[21]Ibid, 1-9(e).

[22]Ibid., 5-1.

[23]Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW*, II-4.

[24]Marine Corps University, *Perspectives on Warfighting: Number Six*, ed. (MCB Quantico VA: Marine Corps University, 2000), 248-249, quoting Major General Anthony Zinni's "Non-Traditional Military Missions: Their Nature, and the Need for Cultural Awareness and Flexible Training" presented to the Armed Forces Staff College Norfolk VA, 4 June 1994.

[25]Department of the Navy, *SWM,* 2-13(e).

[26]Ibid., 1-17(9)c.

[27]Ibid., 2-2 and 1-29 (g).

[28]Ibid., 1-5(b)1, 1-18(b).

[29]Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW*, 2-5.

[30]Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW*, II-5.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Department of the Navy, *SWM*, 2-43(a), 2-48(d).

[33]Ibid., 2-20(c).

CHAPTER 4

THE *SMALL WARS MANUAL VOLUME II*

This thesis has discussed the *SWM's* journey from authoritative doctrine to a

reference publication and its current relevance for serving as a baseline for future Marine

Corps Small Wars doctrine. Specifically, this chapter answers the final supporting

question: What does the *SWM Volume II* offer the Twenty-first Century Marine Corps

MOOTW doctrine? The following quotes from the CETO formal announcement for the

SWM Volume II serve as the basis for answering this question.

> The new Small Wars Manual is not intended to be a doctrinal publication.[1]
>
> The project aims to capture lessons learned from non-traditional operations
> conducted by the Marine Corps since the original manual was published. The
> emphasis will be on post-Cold War events. The new manual will provide
> techniques for dealing with operations ranging from humanitarian assistance to
> peacekeeping/peace enforcement operations.[2]

As previously discussed in the first chapter, CETO ultimately intends for the

SWM Volume II to complement Joint Publication 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW* and

MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations*. Furthermore, with the exception of

counterterrorism operations, CETO accurately addresses the *SWM's* deficiencies with

respect to the COE. Thus, a short answer to the supporting question appears simple and

straight forward: CETO's *SWM Volume II* contributes to Marine Corps twenty-first

century Small Wars doctrine by updating the *SWM's* TTP relevant to the dominant

operations in the COE.

However, further examination demonstrates certain flaws that potentially impact

the *SWM Volume II's* impact such as the misinterpretation of the *SWM's* original status in

Marine Corps doctrine; the potential impact of updating the *SWM* without fully

leveraging the Expeditionary Force Development System (EFDS); and dismissive

perceptions that may prejudice the updates content with respect to the Marine Corps'

perspective on Small Wars' role and the value of thoroughly examining certain Cold War

operations.[3]

<p align="center">Not Intended to be a Doctrinal Publication</p>

A non-doctrinal *SWM Volume II*, as CETO intends, reflects a flawed historical

interpretation of the *SWM's* original status for it indeed served as the Marine Corps Small

Wars doctrine. *Marine Corps Operations* perpetuates the same interpretation when they

praise the *SWM* as a seminal reference publication as opposed to its authoritative doctrine

status.[4] The original *SWM* authors clearly demonstrate their intentions for the manual to

serve as authoritative doctrine for they express previous frustration that "there is a sad

lack of authoritative texts on the methods employed in small wars" which infers that their

manual intended to fulfill this void.[5]

One may then counter that despite the authors' comments, manuals cannot serve

as doctrine for they represent two different ideas: prescriptive action (reference) versus

conceptual guidance (doctrine). However, this argument falls short for two reasons. First

of all, *Warfighting* defines doctrine as "a teaching of the fundamental beliefs of the

Marine Corps on the subject of war, from its nature and theory to its preparation and

conduct"[6] which the *SWM* clearly addresses. Dr. Bickel notes in his description of the

manuals contents that:

> It now began with theoretical chapters on strategy, organization, and the like that
> officers would need to consider before entering the theater of operations. The
> middle was devoted to the practical operational and tactical considerations of
> waging small wars once in-theater. The last quarter focused on conditions
> necessary for withdrawal, including supervising elections in the host country.[7]

<p align="center">70</p>

Secondly, the circumstances of inter-war years doctrinal development play a significant role. Type operations dominated operational thought compared to current Marine Corps doctrine that now provides conceptual warfighting guidance (MCDPs) that drives the manner in which operations are conducted. To classify an inter-war years manual as merely a reference publication is equivalent to stating that the *Tentative Manual for Landing Operations*, which drove World War II's Pacific and European Theater amphibious operations and later the Marine Corps primary mission, was not considered Marine Corps authoritative doctrine. General Alexander A. Vandegrift, the eighteenth Commandant of the Marine Corps (1944 to 1947), certainly did not look to the inter-war years manuals as non-doctrinal. After World War II, Vandegrift noted that:

> despite its outstanding record as a combat force in the past war, the Marine Corps'
> far greater contribution to victory was doctrinal: that is, the fact that the basic
> amphibious doctrines which carried Allied troops over every beachhead of World
> War II had been largely shaped--often in the face of uninterested and doubting
> military orthodoxy--by United States Marines, and mainly between 1922 and
> 1935.[8]

If one accepts that the *SWM* previously served as authoritative doctrine, then several questions emerge.

What precludes the Marine Corps from designating CETO's *SWM Volume II's* effort as authoritative doctrine to fulfill an identified deficiency (MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW*)? Since the original *SWM*, is currently designated as a MCRP, would not MCCDC's Doctrine Division dictate its follow-on development? Will CETO's *SWM Volume II* serve as a MCRP or will its efforts be completely divorced from the Marine Corps formal doctrine infrastructure?

The answers to these questions could easily be answered if the *SWM Volume II's* development nested within the normal processes of the EFDS proper rather than as a "special case" handed over to MCWL's CETO division.

<u>Expeditionary Force Development System</u>

The Marine Corps EFDS nests the supporting establishment's various efforts to sustain and improve expeditionary force readiness. These efforts vary from doctrine development and material solutions to maintaining training areas. CETO serves as a division of the MCWL, which is a key supporting establishment institution within the EFDS. Among its many other tasks, MCWL produces "X-Files" following their experimentation exercises that provide relevant TTP solutions to operational problems currently challenging the Fleet Marine Force. MCWL describes these "X-Files" as "useful information packaged for rapid reading and easy transport in the cargo pocket of the utility uniform [but] . . . do not contain official doctrine, nor are they policy or standing operating procedures."[9] The MCWL CETO Division appears to be taking the same "X-Files" approach with the *SWM Volume II* as opposed to normal EFDS doctrine development procedures (see figure 3). Thus CETO, taking action on a Marine Forces Europe request versus a formal mandate, is free to develop the *SWM Volume II* as an "X-File" type equivalent with no obligation to sustain its content as is the requirement for normal doctrine development.[10]

If the *SWM Volume II* had been developed under the EDFS auspices proper, it would have been assigned a doctrinal proponent that both develops and maintains the publication. For example, in the case of MOOTW, HQMC assigned MCCDC

72

| STRATEGY | PHILOSOPHY | CMC VISION | STRATEGY | EMW CONCEPT | DOCTRINE |

Figure 3. How We Get Doctrine. Source: United States Marine Corps, "Marine Corps Combat Development Command Doctrine Division Command Brief" (Quantico, VA: MCCDC Doctrine Division, 8 November 2002, Slide number 11) presentation on-line; available from https://www.doctrine.usmc.mil/sitemap.htm; Internet; last accessed on 28 December 2002.

proponency responsibilities which ultimately found its way to Doctrine Division. Thus, MOOTW staff cognizance rest with Doctrine Division, and they are responsible for the future MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW* ". . . preparation, review, and periodic maintenance" because they have been deemed the organization "most closely connected to the daily application of tactics, techniques, and procedures."[11] MCCDC Doctrine Division's assignment as the Small Wars doctrinal proponent is puzzling in that it possesses no internal MOOTW Branch as it does with Amphibious Operations and the fact that MCWL established a "Small Wars Center of Excellence." Nevertheless, to this point, little is actually required for MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW* since the Marine Corps' annual doctrinal publication status has yet to even schedule the start date for its development.[12]

The temptation is great to dismiss this doctrine development analysis process as trivial detail and magnanimously declaring that what is most important is that the *SWM Volume II* is being updated. However, one must compare which process provides for the great opportunity for the *SWM Volume II's* sustained success?

1. EFDS' doctrinal proponency method where HQMC annually assigns formal responsibility for developing and maintaining its doctrinal publications. A system designed to mitigate against the doctrinal atrophy that the *SWM* experienced; or

2. CETO's "X-File"style where the *SWM Volume II* does not serve as authoritative doctrine, fulfill a validated formal requirement, or reside within the EFDS. Therefore, no organization is accountable to maintain the publication's content. It is difficult to counter that Option number 1 is the logical choice. Certainly, there is merit in that the short-term gain potentially outweighs the advantages of dealing with the cumbersome bureaucracy of doctrine development. However, at the same time, the Marine Corps has now been without Small Wars doctrine for more than sixty-three years thus it is difficult to imagine that the additional time required to achieve authoritative doctrinal status will make a significant difference.

CETO's intent for the *SWM Volume II* as a non-doctrinal reference publication is not without precedence for this tactic is similar to the Joint Warfighting Center's (JWC) development of the previously discussed *JTF Handbook for Peace Operations* (see chapter 3). The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) J-7 maintains cognizance (doctrinal proponency) of its JP 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW* on behalf of DoD. The United States JFC, one of the unified combatant commands, is tasked with producing a ancillary Handbook to complement the Chairman's conceptual MOOTW doctrine which the chairman in turn delegates to JWC. This process potentially parallels that of the EFDS if MCCDC MCWL Division tasks its CETO Division to produce the *SWM Volume II* in support of Doctrine Division's MCWP 3-33 (see figure 4). Likewise, the JWC may have taken the initiative and used a bottom-up approach following JP 3-07's publishing.

74

Regardless whether the approach was top down or bottom-up it worked for the *JTF Peace Operation Handbook* which is a widely read quality product. However, there are both differences and drawbacks to this process. The difference is that CETO has no equivalent Marine Corps service doctrine for guidance as did the JWC with the JP 3-07 and the United States Army FM 100-23, *Peace Operations* to nest concepts and TTP. The vulnerability that both the *JTF Handbook* and *SWM Volume II* share is that they both are non-doctrinal publications.

Figure 4. CJCS J-7 and MCCDC Reference Publications Development

Therefore neither publication is reflected in the respective joint and service doctrinal taxonomy--JP, MCRP, MCWP, MCDP--which leave both efforts vulnerable to the following secondary effects.

1. Quality Control Point 1: Both Joint and Marine Corps doctrine require periodic, formal review to mitigate doctrinal stagnation.[13] Thus a formal process exists versus depending upon an arbitrary request from the Fleet Marine Force or due diligence by the JWC or CETO staffs in the face of numerous other formal taskings. Thus a manual or handbook not classified within the formal doctrinal taxonomy experiences accountability issues that contribute towards its potential atrophy.

2. Quality Control Point 2: Joint and Marine Corps doctrinal distribution results in either a hardcopy via the United States Government Printing Office or electronic file format via the J-7's Joint Electronic Library or MCCDC Doctrine Division's official home page respectively.[14] However, non-doctrinal publication distribution is often at the developer's discretion and not centrally advertised with the formal doctrine it supports. For example, the CJCS Joint Electronic Library list the *JTF Commander's Handbook for Peace Operations* under its Research Papers section and the *SWM* is only available on the Marine Corps History and Museum Division's CD that can be ordered only via the USGPO or cumbersome Marine Corps Publication Distribution System. As a result, operational planners and commanders ignorant of the respective publication's existence could easily overlook their location. Just as the *SWM* was lost within the Classified Material Control Center's three-drawer safe, so to can valuable doctrine and reference become lost in the twenty-first century digital libraries.

On the whole, the *SWM Volume II* deserves to be a part of the formal EFDS process in the same manner to sustain both CETO's efforts and the manual's utility to the Marine Corps' expeditionary forces. Now that the *SWM Volume II's* process has been addressed, it is necessary to focus on its potential content in light of CETO's dismissive tone in describing Small Wars operations as "non-traditional" and deemphasizing Cold War campaigns.

<u>Small Wars Perceptions</u>

CETO's commitment to examining Small Wars lessons learned since the *SWM's* 1940 publishing, which took into account the Banana Wars Campaigns from the turn of the century, will ultimately result in the *SWM* series being based upon more than one hundred years of military intervention experiences. Further demonstrating their commitment to the Small Wars project, CETO hosted a series of "Common Ground Workshops." These meetings provide a forum where "insights, observations, and attitudes gleaned from people who have lived, worked, and fought in the small wars environment" that will certainly enrich their *SWM Volume II*.[15] These efforts reflect the same commitment that the original *SWM* authors demonstrated. CETO wants lessons learned that are synthesized into an operational approach and subject matter experts directly involved in the writing process. CETO's efforts in matching the *SWM* process appear inconsistent with their dismissive description of Small Wars as a non-traditional operations. Perhaps more troubling is their stated objective to discount the Cold War Small Wars campaigns. This casts doubt for the *SWM Volume II's* content.

<u>Non-Traditional Operations</u>. CETO's perspective that Small Wars represents a non-traditional operation for the Marine Corps reflects a decided bias toward both current

Marine Corps doctrine and its institutions dedicated to its traditional Small Wars

operations. From a doctrinal perspective, although the Marine Corps has yet to develop

MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW*, the capstone MCDP (see figure 5) provides guidance that

explicitly codifies Small Wars as a traditional operation.

Capstone Publications

MCCDC

Warfighting
Strategy
Campaigning
Tactics
Intelligence
Expeditionary
Operations
Planning
Logistics
Command &
Control

"Box of Books"
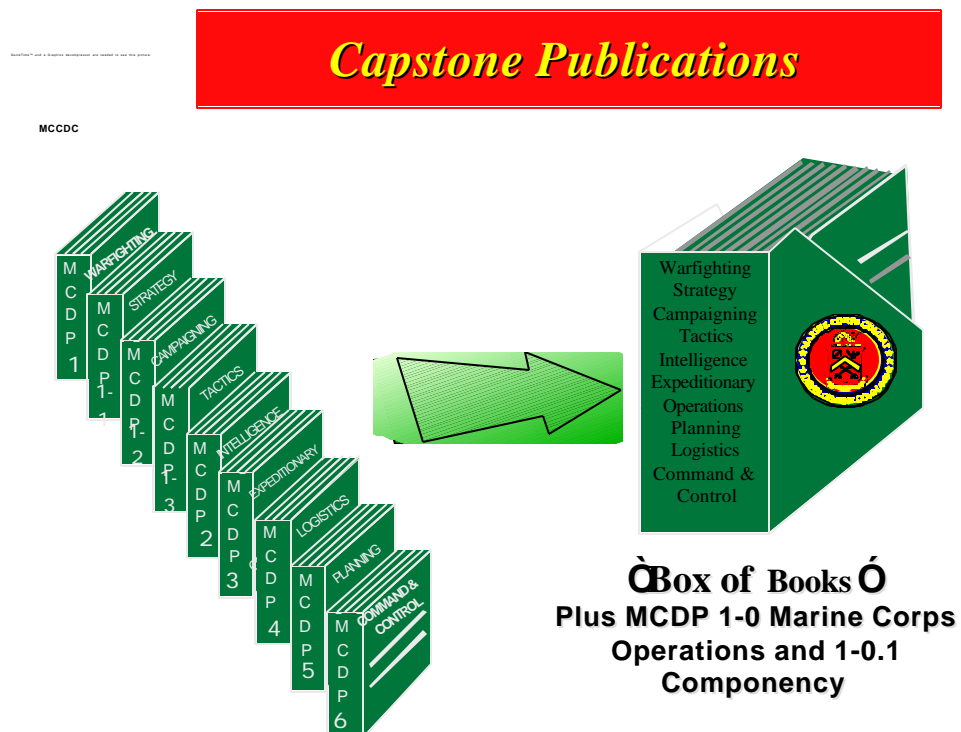Plus MCDP 1-0 Marine Corps
Operations and 1-0.1
Componency

Figure 5. Marine Corps Doctrinal Publications

The evidence is overwhelming as MCDP 3, *Expeditionary Operations*, recognizes MOOTW-style activities or missions as both a traditional and frequent operation; MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations* states that with respect to Small Wars, Marines "provide the means for an immediate response while serving as the foundation for follow-on forces or resources."[16] The most compelling doctrinal mandate is the capstone publication--*Warfighting*--which authoritatively states, "Military operations other than war and small wars are not simply lesser forms of general war."[17] Thus from a doctrinal perspective, Small Wars is anything but non-traditional and proves congruent with General James L. Jones mindset, where the Marine's thirty-second Commandant (2000 to 2003) urged Marines " . . . to shed a 20th-century mentality . . . the word 'amphibious,' which is a legacy term--and really understand the power of expeditionary warfare in support of the joint warfighter."[18] In short, the Commandant reinforces General Kelly's previous exhortation that Marines perform full combat spectrum operations: Small Wars being one of these.

From an institutional perspective, Marines are far from casting Small Wars aside as a non-traditional mission. MCWL Wargaming Division established a Small Wars Center of Excellence that along with CETO, explores doctrine, TTP, and identifies future enemy threats. Furthermore, Marines serve as DoD Executive Agent for Non-Lethal Weapons which is a notable fact given the *SWM's* enthusiasm for riot control agents and other crowd control TTP.[19]

Furthermore, during 2001and 2002 the Marines instituted changes that allow for more responsive capabilities to its traditional operations--Small Wars--by establishing a MARCORSOCDET for potential service with United States Special Operations

Command and reestablishing its 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade and designating it specifically for Anti-Terrorism missions: 4th MEB (AT). Both MARCORSOCDET and 4th MEB (AT) provide combatant commanders an additional counterterrorism, anti-terrorism, and consequence management capabilities. The MARCORSOCDET is, currently training alongside the United States Navy Special Warfare Group in a proof of concept demonstration to validate "a viable capability [that] . . . demonstrates that the Marine Corps in fact is making an institutional commitment to improving its relationship with SOCOM and making a long-term commitment towards assisting SOCOM in its responsibilities."[20] Meanwhile the mission of the 4th MEB (AT), reactivated six weeks following "9/11", is ". . . to provide designated supported commanders with rapidly deployable, specially trained, and sustainable forces that are capable of detecting terrorist activity, taking the steps needed to deter terrorism, defending designated facilities against terrorism, and conducting initial incidence response in the event of chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear terrorist attacks worldwide."[21]

These force structure actions are a departure from the Marine Corps MAGTF full-spectrum operations focus to standing organizations charged with executing specific Small Wars operations. This recent change in direction has proved popular with Congress for it endorsed the Marine's actions by increasing its force structure (2,400) in the 2003 National Defense Authorization Act.[22] However, these non-MAGTF forces require more than a mission statement, Tables of Organization and Equipment, and the obligatory mission statement for its proper employment. These organizations, somewhat detached from a specific MEF, require supporting doctrine to address their relationships with both forward deployed and crisis response MAGTF. Again, such requirements

provide an opportunity for the *SWM Volume II* to increase its potential enduring value by nesting these forces similar to the *SWM* resolving the DoS, Navy Department, HQMC, and expeditionary forces responsibilities in its initial chapters.

Additionally, besides MAGTF integration, the following additional issues not only demonstrate areas where the *SWM Volume II* can increase its contents enduring value, but also why the Marine Corps requires an authoritative Small Wars doctrine tie to these disparate elements with roles in this type of operation. What capability does a naval expeditionary force gain from having a MARCORSOCDET as a SOCOM operational force? Is MARCORSOCDET limited to SOCOM control or will it serve in a manner to the United States Navy "Blue" Seals (conventional) as a part of the Navy's Global Concept of Operations SSGN/SOF Strike Force or dedicated "Purple" Seals (Seal Team 6)?[23]

Why is 4th MEB (AT) limited to the defensive Anti-Terrorism role? Is 4th MEB considered strictly a functional command, or is it also capable of forcible entry MAGTF operations? If 4th MEB (AT)'s mandate is to "deter, detect, defend" then why would it have not formed the Commander Joint Task Force-Horn-of-Africa's nucleus as opposed to 2nd Marine Division since the mission is to "deter, disrupt, defend, against terrorism in US Central Command's eastern Africa."[24] Why did the 4th MEB (AT) not establish the nucleus of the JTF staff given its mission and subordinate Marine Security Guard Detachments resident within the Area of Operations and its Fleet Anti-Terrorism Security Team's frequent deployments supporting Fifth Fleet versus that of 2d Marine Division? Is 4th MEB (AT) more of a Special Purpose MEB or is it capable of assuming MAGTF duties?

What are 4th MEB (AT)'s roles with respect to Northern Command's consequence management responsibilities? How does the 4th MEB (AT) act within the legal constraints of posse comitatus stipulations? Is the 4th MEB (AT) simply a MEU (SOC) clone--an alternative force with a new relationship to SOCOM capable of special operations?

Accordingly, CETO's flawed assertion that Small Wars are not traditional may appear innocent; however, it is a bias that Small Wars advocates since the Banana Wars consistently encountered despite overwhelming evidence on the contrary. These flawed perceptions potentially produce unintended consequences with respect to doctrine, training, logistics, organization, manning, personnel, and facility issues. For one ignorant of MAGTF operations may rationalize that, if MOOTW is not traditional, then why is the Marine Corps deliberately investing resources to improve operational capabilities when more traditional operations require support? There appears to be more questions than answers with respect to Marine Corps Small Wars doctrine. A void which the *SWM Volume II* could fill as it addresses, doctrinally, a traditional versus non-traditional Marine Corps operation.

Post-Cold War Events. CETO plans to place an "emphasis . . . on post-Cold War events," but fortunately also states its intent to review "lessons learned since the manual was first published" which would include the Marine Corps only protracted MOOTW campaign since the Banana Wars: the Vietnam War and Beirut Peace Operations.[25] At first, CETO's concentration on post-Cold War events appears logical given the 1990's Engagement and Enlargement period's consecutive Small Wars operations which sparked a parallel Small Wars cottage industry of sorts for now more than ". . . 80 nations have

peacekeeping centers, institutes and organizations dedicated to this emerging field.'[26] As a result, significant operational thought and TTP analyses are readily available and most notably the Center for Naval Analysis' efforts in the 1990, which have provides a naval operational approach toward executing CCO.[27]

However, it remains important for CETO to not deemphasize these Cold War MOOTW operations since the COE is arguably a return to these protracted Small Wars. Operation Restore Hope (Somalia: December 1992 to May 1993) provides a recent post-Cold War historical guidepost for examining Marine actions for a significant period. However, in comparison to the Vietnam War and Beirut Peace Operations six months hardly qualifies as a protracted Small Wars campaign. The following provides further insights for not discarding these interventions for examination by the *SWM Volume II* authors.

Vietnam War. Deemphasizing this Cold War operation potentially minimizes the CAP's NA/COIN efforts--a concept that MCDP 1-0, *Marine Corps Operations* explicitly credits with influencing early 1990's MOOTW efforts.

> Building on the counterinsurgency experiences of Marines in Haiti and Nicaragua, innovative Marines created the combine action platoon (CAP) program in South Vietnam in 1965. This program placed small teams of Marines, led by noncommissioned officers, in the hamlets and villages throughout the Marine's area of operations (AO). These Marines earned the trust of the villagers by living in the village while protecting the people. Marines led and trained the local people's defense forces, learned the language and customs of the villagers, and were very successful in denying those areas under their control to the enemy. The CAP program became a model for success in countering insurgencies. Many of the lessons learns from the CAP program were emulated in various peace enforcement and humanitarian assistance operations Marines have performed over the last decade, such as Operation Provide Comfort in Northern Iraq (1991) and Operation Restore Hope in Somalia (1992-1993).[28]

The Vietnam War's inherent embedded Small Wars or MOOTW-style activities provide a rich repository of NA/COIN experiences that Marines may be called again to support in the COE. Given SOCOM's new counterterrorism focus; the United States Army's challenge to meet its manning of the Special Forces; the Marine Corps involvement in both United States Central Commands open-ended OIF's CJTF-HOA force protection mission as well as post-conflict operations in southern Iraq.[29] Is the Marine Corps returning to the Banana Wars type missions and Vietnam era's protracted Small Wars campaigns with the added complexity to counterterrorism? Certainly, NA/COIN missions may not necessarily be the *SWM Volume II's* focus given MCDP 3, *Expeditionary Operations* guidance on typical MAGTF operations in Small Wars, but its inherent TTP certainly deserve consideration for it applies to other Small Wars operations--particularly CCO.

Beirut Peace Operations. These operations demonstrated how rotating Marine Amphibious Units, now termed MEU, could serve within a protracted MOOTW campaign. Furthermore, Beirut also serves as a Force Protection and Consequence Management operational case study given that the Marines Corps experienced one of the first terrorist attacks utilizing WMD which resulted in the deaths of more than 280 Marines, soldiers and sailors in 1983.

Finally, deemphasizing Cold War operations potentially leads the *SWM Volume II* to repeat the same mistakes that the *Anti-Guerrilla Warfare* and FMFM *Counterinsurgency* authors made in drafting Marine Corps doctrine, and TTP during the Vietnam War: ignorance of the Banana War experience and the *SWM*. As a result of this ignorance, the Marines Corps accepted an inferior counterinsurgency doctrine and the

CAP rose from necessity rather than deliberate review. To this end, it is well worth the *SWM Volume II* author's efforts to not deemphasize these protracted Small Wars campaigns in light of the COE.

In conclusion, CETO requires a thorough review of their *SWM Volume II* efforts to ensure that it is following those tenants which made the *SWM* successful as well as those that contributed toward its demise. For the most part, early indications suggest that CETO is repeating the *SWM's* development and sustainment. In adhering to aspects that allowed the *SWM* to survive as a work of enduring value, CETO appears to be congruent with the *SWM*'s development. It has identified Small Wars missions that promise to challenge MAGTF, ensured that subject-matter experts contribute towards the material, and committed to thoroughly examine lessons learned since 1940. Unfortunately, CETO is not taking the necessary steps to ensure their work sustains itself by not nesting it within the EFDS' mainstream. This action would mitigate CETO's *SWM Volume II* from doctrinal atrophy since its possesses quality control measures that require formal reviews and appropriate doctrinal distribution techniques. There is also concern that CETO's perspectives of MOOTW as a non-traditional operations and a deemphasizing the Marine Corps Small Wars during the Cold War era may impact the follow-on volumes content.

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[29]"The global nature of the war, the nature of the enemy and the need for fast, efficient operations in hunting down and rooting out terrorist networks around the world have all contributed to the need for an expanded role for the Special Operations forces," Mr. Rumsfeld said in January at a Pentagon press conference. "We are transforming that command to meet that need." Rowan Scarborough, "Special Ops Steal Show as Successes Mount in Iraq," *Washington* Times, 7 April 2003, 1,

"Special Operations does not even have on hand soldiers qualified to fill the positions it already has, let alone the new ones it is being given, a Pentagon official said. The Army is supposed to man a total of 270 Special Forces A-teams, with 12 troops each, but currently can fill only 225, he said." Thomas E. Ricks, "Rumsfeld Stands Tall After Iraq Victory", *Washington Post*, 20 April 2003, A01.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The *SWM* series overwhelmingly presents a relevant baseline for which the Marine Corps can build its future MOOTW doctrine. The original manual sets the example by first bestowing its renowned title to the updated doctrinal publication. The Small Wars title reflects an appreciation for Marine Corps heritage and lends a "brand name" to generate enthusiasm for the updated doctrine. More importantly, the term accurately reflects the type of MOOTW operations that regional combatant commanders currently call upon their Marine Corps components to perform. These operations include complex contingencies, non-combatant evacuations, and counterterrorism which all require an aggressive Small Wars mentality. This warfighting mentality distinguishes the Marine Corps approach within the joint forces and has proved itself time and again since the Banana Wars.

As this thesis demonstrated, framework and content has consistently proved itself to be merely outdated but not irrelevant. This fact allows the *SWM Volume II* authors the option of simply updating or inserting the necessary text and graphics make the current manual more relevant to today's COE as opposed to a complete rewrite. As one would expect, time and technology overcame many of the *SWM's* discussions on topics such as command and control and TTP--the "means" of Small Wars operations. However, the manual remains strikingly relevant to the COE with respect to the Small Wars "ends" (political objectives) and campaign "ways" (sequence of actions). From the ends and ways perspective, it is difficult to envision major changes to the *SWM Volume II*.

89

CETO's formal announcement of its initial actions to prepare the second volume appear congruent to the methodology adhered to by the *SWM* authors. For example, their Common Ground Workshops provide a forum for subject-matter experts to directly insert themselves into the doctrinal writing process, and they are examining a significant operational period (1940--current). Both actions prove similar to the *SWM* authors who were both veterans and students of the Banana Wars era (1910 to 1934). Subject matter expertise analysis of Small Wars over a significant period mitigate against the natural temptation to accept concepts and TTP that prove successful in one specific campaign as a universal principle or concept.

In spite of the similarities between the two efforts, there are notable differences that cause concern. CETO referring to Small Wars as non-traditional versus a normal type operation reflects an inaccurate grasp of Marine Corps operations. Such comments distort history and perpetuate the myth that Small Wars represents a lesser form or inferior type of warfare. The stark reality is that Small Wars represent the Marine Corps most common operations as this thesis proved historically, legally, doctrinally and as evident in both recent supporting establishment and Fleet Marine Force actions.

Aside from the inaccurate description non-traditional, the most disappointing revelation is CETO's intent to relegate the *SWM Volume II's* status to a reference publication versus authoritative doctrine that the original manual enjoyed. The first argument is that developing a reference publication to complement joint doctrine is the CJCS' responsibility. The JWC's *JTF Commander's Peace Operations Handbook* that complements JP 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for MOOTW* serves as a prime example.

90

Second, normally it is inappropriate for reference publications to directly complement a capstone or keystone publication such as *Marine Corps Operations* that provides guidance. The doctrinal hierarch provides a cascading effect where MCDPs provide philosophies and concepts, MCWPs address operations and TTP, and finally MCRP complement the MCWP or serve as history. There are exceptions, MCRP 5-1A, *Doctrinal Reference for Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare* is a "cargo pocket" version of *Marine Corp Operations,* however, it is based upon the entire MCDP not just one concisely within the chapter on MOOTW as is the case with CETO's intent.

Finally, it is puzzling why the MCWL committed CETO's resources in developing a reference publication before MCCDC's Future Warfighting and Doctrine Division's provided "top down planning guidance" in the form of Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare's supporting concept Other than Expeditionary Operations concept or MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW*. Would it not have been prudent for a think tank such as CETO to assist in developing the necessary top down planning guidance before producing a complementing reference publication?

<u>Recommendations</u>

MCCDC Doctrine Division should retain the *SWM* as a MCRP, promote the use of the manual's framework and content for its future MCWP 3-33, and coordinate the development of CETO's follow-on *SWM Volume II* as dual-Navy and Marine Corps Small Wars authoritative doctrine. This MCWP 3-33/NWP, which should be titled *Small Wars Manual Volume II* to more accurately reflect the naval services operational philosophy, models the original manual. This second volume should initially address Small Wars theory from a maritime perspective, and then subsequently provide a

campaign model for a protracted CCO. The difference between the two volumes is that the updated work addresses a naval task force (MEB/Amphibious Group) leading a protracted CCO versus Marine Corps forces exclusively executing protracted counterinsurgency operations. Aside from the *SWM Volume II's* focus, during this upcoming annual Marine Corps Bulletin 5300 Doctrinal Proponency Assignments review (June 2003), HQMC should assign the MCWL as the Small Wars doctrinal proponent since their MCWL established a "Small Wars Center of Excellence."[1]

These recommendations address both a naval service doctrinal void and provide a campaign model for executing its most demanding Small Wars operation. Furthermore, it designated institutional overseer to lead Small Wars type operations development. The following provides further amplification for the recommended actions of developing the *SWM Volume II* as Navy and Marine Corps doctrine, focusing on the protracted CCO and MCWL assuming doctrinal proponency.

Navy and Marine Corps MOOTW Doctrine. Designating the *SWM Volume II* as the naval services' authoritative Small Wars doctrine promotes the integration that naval services seek as outlined in the recently published "Naval Operating Concept for Joint Operations." This concept calls for the naval services to identify common terms of ". . . philosophical, conceptual, doctrinal, and organizational actions" for future integration.[2] The naval services tactical air integration and the Navy and Marine Corps internet project provide current examples of this goal.

From a strictly Marine Corps doctrinal perspective, if the *SWM Volume II* indeed follows this thesis' recommendation to focus on the protracted CCO, then its MOOTW operational doctrine is virtually complete. The *SWM Volume II* accounts for MCWP 3-

33, *MOOTW* and a CCO (Peace Operations, Humanitarian Assistance) while the Doctrine Division covers non-combatant evacuation operations which is inherent to its role as the CJCS Executive Agent for maintaining JP 3-07.5, *Joint Tactics, Techniques and Procedures for Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations*. These designated Small Wars operations normally require full spectrum operational requirements that require a robust MAGTF versus specific Marine forces fulfilling a JFC functional requirement.

Complex Contingency Operations. The inherent mobility of naval forces normally encourages operations of a limited nature and objective with respect to a military campaign. However, given the COE, maritime forces cannot rule out leading a protracted Small Wars campaign while conventional land and special operations forces remain engaged in longstanding global commitments. A *SWM Volume II* with a protracted CCO in a urban, littoral environment focus provides the naval services a point of departure to execute a worst-case Small Wars campaign that is normally dominated by an Army-centric Joint Task Forces and their subordinate land component.

Limiting the *SWM Volume II's* focus to a protracted CCO in an urban, littoral environment by no means dismisses the other Small Wars missions. Normally MAGTF maintain full-spectrum operational capabilities to fight Krulak's Three Block War whether the mission is conventional land warfare or Small Wars. However, at some point doctrine must establish a focus or it becomes cumbersome. A *SWM Volume II* that concentrates on a protracted CCO in an urban, littoral environment recognizes the most likely Small Wars operation and retains a focus similar to the original manual. TTP for jungle, mountain, and desert operating environments that may surround this urban setting are available in other MCWPs.

Doctrinal Proponency. The necessary resources should be shifted to MCWL's "Small Wars Center of Excellence" to allow it to serve as the Marine Corps Small Wars rally point. The Small Wars charter should dictate that the Center should also take cognizance of the following publications: MCWP 3-33, *MOOTW* (preferably titled *SWM Volume II),* MCWP 3-33.1, *MAGTF Civil-Military Operations,* MCWP 3-33.2, *Civil Disturbances,* MCWP 3-33.4, *Domestic Support Operations,* and MCWP 3-33.6, *Humanitarian Assistance Operations.* Furthermore, MCCDC Doctrine Division should consider delegating its CJCS Executive Agent for non-combatant evacuation operations responsibilities to MCWL's Small Wars Center for Excellence as well.

Finally, this thesis acknowledges that advocating maritime forces lead protracted Small Wars campaigns reflects a doctrinal heresy of sorts given the "expeditionary force in readiness" and "Marines fight the nations battles!" mantras. Protracted Small Wars campaigns are unpopular with most Marines. Whether the senior OIF MAGTF commander who claimed if he "had a vote, I'd say let's get out of here. Let's backload the MPS [Maritime Pre-Positioning Ships], get it in shape, and get these kids home because we have regular deployments that need to be met" to a junior Marine who exclaimed "Beautiful Sight!" If the Marine Corps stands ready to conduct protracted, sustained operations ashore in support of a conventional land campaign such as Operations Desert Shield, Desert Storm, and OIF then what precludes it for doing the same in a Small War?

A protracted Small Wars campaign may reflect a far-fetched notion for the Marine Corps, but it appears viable given the COE that requires "boots on the ground" around the globe. Given this fact, the Marine Corps may be called upon to both fight

94

battles as well as win Banana Wars. CETO's *SWM Volume II* is the answer for Small

Wars authoritative doctrine to provide the necessary point of departure for naval services

to fight these type operations.

[1]United States Marine Corps, "Proponency Questions and Answers" (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command, date unknown; available on line from https://www.doctrine.usmc.mil/decpro2e.htm; Internet; accessed on 27 May 2003).

United States Marine Corps, "Marine Corps Bulletin 5600: Marine Corps Doctrinal Publication Status" (Washington, DC: Headquarters United States Marine Corps, 31 October 2002); 1; also available on line from at https://www.doctrine.usmc. mil/info.htm; Internet; last accessed on 16 May 2003.

[2]Department of the Navy, "Naval Operating Concept for Joint Operations" (Washington, DC: The Pentagon, circa 2003), 19.

APPENDIX

CURRENT MOOTW OPERATIONS VS PRE-WORLD WAR II ACTIONS

OPERATION/DOCTRINE	Current MOOTW Operations vs. Pre WWII Actions
Arms Control	4th MEB (Anti-Terror)'s Marine Security Force Co. escorting/guarding US Navy nuclear assets. Pre-WWII: Disarmament of factions central to each "Banana Wars" expedition.
Counter Terrorism JTTP for Antiterrorism JP 3-07.6 JTTP for Special Ops JP 3-05	4th MEB (AT) response to domestic terrorist attack. Pre-WWII: N/A
DoD Support to Counterdrug Operations Joint Counterdrug Ops JP 3-07.6	Reconnaissance or Surveillance support. (physical or electronic) Pre-WWII: Destroyed illegal distilleries (Brooklyn 1867-1871)
Enforcement of Sanctions/Maritime Interdiction Operations	Visit, Board, Search and Seizure (VBSS) duties Pre-WWII: Sea Duty (Marine Detachments)
Enforcement of Exclusion Zones	"No Fly Zones" - Operation Southern Watch (Iraq) Pre-WWII: Shanghai Intl Settlement Duty (1911-41)
Ensuring Freedom of Navigation and Overflight	Seize & Control SLOC Chokepoints, Combat Air Patrols Pre-WWII: Panama Canal Security Duty 1903-14, Defend Advance Naval Bases (Barracks Duty)
Humanitarian Assistance JTTP for Foreign HA/JP 3-07.6 MCWP 3-33.6 Humanitarian Assist Ops	Operation PROVIDE COMFORT: 24th MEU (SOC) provides shelter, food & water to the Kurds in Northern Iraq (19XX-XX). Operation RESTORE HOPE: I MEF provided humanitarian assistance with limited military action to Somalia. Pre-WWII: Managua, Nicaragua Earthquake Relief Ops (1931)
Military Support to Civil Authorities MCWP 3-33.2 Civil Disturbance/MCWP 3-33.4 Domestic Support Ops	SPMAGTF supporting Hurricane Andrew Relief Efforts (19XX), SPMAGTF LA supporting civil efforts quelling Los Angeles Riots (199X) Pre-WWII: Suppress New York City draft riots (1863) Suppress NYC Cuban Filibuster March (1869), Suppress Philadelphia Election Riots (1870)

Nation Assistance/Support to COIN JTTP for Foreign Internal Defense JP 3-07.3 Doctrine for Joint Special Operations JP3-05	Mobile Training Teams, Humanitarian Assistance Programs Pre-WWII: Nicaragua Interventions 1912-1934, Philippine War (1901-14)
Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations JTTP for NEO/JP 3-07.5	MEU (SOC) Op EASTERN EXIT (Somalia -1991), SILVER WAKE (Albania-1997) Pre-WWII:
Peace Operations JTTP for Peace Ops/JP 3-07.3	Peace Enforcement Operations: SPMAGTF Caribbean (Uphold Democracy - Haiti), Pre-WWII: 1st Marine Provisional Brigade (Haiti 1915-34) Peace Keeping Operations: MAUs (Lebanon 1982-84) Pre-WWII: 1st Marines (Cuba 1906-1909), 2d Marine Brigade (Nicaragua 1916-24)
Protection of Shipping	Naval Forces: Vessel Security, Combat Air Patrols, Hijacked Vessel Recovery Sea Duty (Marine Detachments)
Recovery Operations/JP 3-50.3	MEU (SOC) - Tactical Recovery of A/C and Personnel: "O'Grady Rescue - 1995" Pre-WWII: Greely Arctic Expedition Rescue (Greenland)
Show of Force Operations	MEU (SOC) and MPS positioning Pre-WWII: Numerous amphibious landings.
Strikes and Raids	Operation PRAYING MANTIS: Iranian Gas-Oil Platform Destruction (1988) Pre-WWII: Numerous amphibious landings.
Support to Insurgency	Limited to Logistics/Training Support Pre-WWII: N/A. During the "Imperialism in the Caribbean" Years (1901-34) the United States simply sent intervention forces to the respective country versus a deliberate subterfuge effort against a sovereign government.

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